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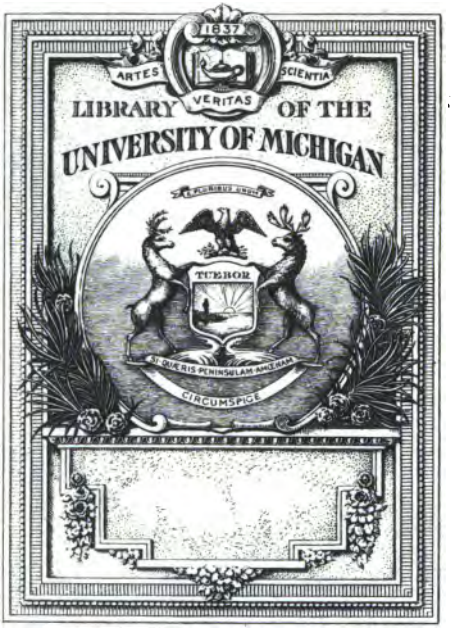
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THE

BEAUTIES

OF THE LATE

Right Hon. EDMUND BURKE.

VOL. II.

THE

BEAUTIES

OF THE LATE

Right Hon. EDMUND BURKE,

SELECTED FROM THE

WRITINGS, &c. OF THAT EXTRAORDINARY MAN,

ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED.

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TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE,

WITH SOME

ORIGINAL ANECDOTES

OF

Mr. BURKE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

London:

PRINTED BY J. W. MYERS, No. 2, PATERNOSTER-ROW;

AND MAY BE HAD OF ALL THE BOOKSELLERS.

1798.

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THE BEAUTIES OF BURKE.

LAW—*As a Science of methodized and artificial Equity, abolished in France.*

A Government of the nature of that set up at our very door (France) has never been hitherto seen or even imagined in Europe. What our relation to it will be cannot be judged by other relations. It is a serious thing to have a connection with a people who live only under positive, arbitrary, and changeable institutions; and those not perfected nor supplied, nor explained by any common acknowledged rule of moral science. I remember that in one of my last conversations with the late Lord Camden, we were struck much in the same manner with the abolition in France of the law, as a science of methodized and artificial equity. France, since her revolution, is under the sway of a sect, whose leaders have deliberately, at one stroke, demolished the whole body of that jurisprudence which France had pretty nearly in common with other civilized countries. In that jurisprudence were contained the elements and principles of the law of nations, the great ligament of mankind. With the law they have of course destroyed all seminaries in which jurisprudence was taught, as well as all the corporations established for its conservation. I have not heard of any country, whether in Europe or Asia, or even in Africa, on this side of Mount Atlas, which is wholly without some such colleges and such corporations, except France. No man, in a public or private concern, can divine by what rule or principle her judgments are to be directed; nor is there to be found a Professor in any University, or a Practitioner in any Court, who will hazard an opinion of what is or is not law in France, in any case whatever. They have not only annulled all their old treaties, but they have renounced the law of nations, from whence treaties have their force.

With a fixed deſign they have outlawed themſelves, and to their power outlawed all other nations. Inſtead of the religion and the law by which they were in a great and politic communion with the Chriſtian world, they have conſtructed their republic on three baſes, all fundamentally oppoſite to thoſe on which the communities of Europe are built. Its foundation is laid in Regicide, in Jacobiniſm, and in Atheiſm; and it has joined to thoſe principles a body of ſyſtematic manners which ſecures their operation.—*Regicide Peace.*

LAW OF CHANGE.

We muſt all obey the great law of change. It is the moſt powerful law of nature, and the means perhaps of its conſervation. All we can do, and that human wiſdom can do, is to provide that the change ſhall proceed by inſenſible degrees. This has all the benefits which may be in change, without any of the inconveniencies of mutation. Every thing is provided for as it arrives. This mode will, on the one hand, prevent the *unfixing old intereſts at once;* a thing which is apt to breed a black and ſullen diſcontent in thoſe who are at once diſpoſſeſſed of all their influence and conſideration. This gradual courſe, on the other ſide, will prevent men, long under depreſſion, from being intoxicated with a large draught of new power, which they always abuſe with a licentious inſolence. But wiſhing, as I do, the change to be gradual and cautious, I would, in my firſt ſteps, lean rather to the ſide of enlargement than reſtriction.—*Letter to Sir H. Langriſhe, M. P.*

LAWS (BAD.)

Bad laws are the worſt ſort of tyranny. In ſuch a country as this, they are of all bad things the worſt, worſe by far than any where elſe; and they derive a particular malignity even from the wiſdom and ſoundneſs of the reſt of our inſtitutions. For very obvious reaſons you cannot truſt the Crown with a diſpenſing power over any of your laws—*Speech previous to the Election at Briſtol.*

LAWGIVER.

Character of a true Lawgiver.

But it ſeems as if it were the prevalent opinion in Paris, that an unfeeling heart, and an undoubting confidence, are the ſole qualifications for a perfect legiſlator. Far different are my ideas of that high office. The true lawgiver ought to have an heart full of ſenſibility. He ought to love and reſpect his kind, and to fear himſelf. It may be allowed to his temperament to catch his ultimate object with an intuitive glance; but his movements towards it ought to be deliberate. Political arrangement, as it is a work for ſocial ends, is to be only wrought by ſocial means. There mind muſt conſpire with mind. Time is required to produce that union of minds which alone can produce all the good we aim at. Our patience will atchieve more than our force. If I might venture to appeal to what is ſo much out of faſhion in Paris, I mean to experience, I ſhould tell you, that in my courſe I have known, and, according to my meaſure, have co-operated with great men, and I have never yet ſeen any plan which has not been mended by the obſervations of thoſe who were much inferior in underſtanding to the perſon who took the lead in the buſineſs. By a ſlow but well-ſuſtained progreſs, the effect of each ſtep is watched; the good or ill ſucceſs of the firſt, gives light to us in the ſecond; and ſo, from light to light, we are conducted with ſafety through the whole ſeries. We ſee, that the parts of the ſyſtem do not claſh. The evils latent in the moſt promiſing contrivances are provided for as they ariſe. One advantage is as little as poſſible ſacrificed to another. We compenſate, we reconcile, we balance. We are enabled to unite into a conſiſtent whole the various anomalies and contending principles that are found in the minds and affairs of men. From hence ariſes, not an excellence in ſimplicity, but one far ſuperior, an excellence in compoſition. Where the great intereſts of mankind

are concerned through a long ſucceſſion of generations, that ſucceſſion ought to be admitted into ſome ſhare in the councils which are ſo deeply to affect them. If juſtice requires this, the work itſelf requires the aid of more minds than one age can furniſh. It is from this view of things that the beſt legiſlators have been often ſatisfied with the eſtabliſhment of ſome ſure, ſolid, and ruling principle in government; a power like that which ſome of the philoſophers have called a plaſtic nature; and having fixed the principle, they have left it afterwards to its own operation. —— *Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

LEGISLATOR AND POPULAR GOVERNMENTS.

No legiſlator, at any period of the world, has willingly placed the ſeat of active power in the hands of the multitude: becauſe there it admits of no control, no regulation, no ſteady direction whatſoever. The people are the natural control on authority; but to exerciſe and to control together is contradictory and impoſſible.

As the exorbitant exerciſe of power cannot, under popular ſway, be effectually reſtrained, the other great object of political arrangement, the means of abating an exceſſive deſire of it, is in ſuch a ſtate ſtill worſe provided for. The democratic commonwealth is the foodful nurſe of ambition. Under the other forms it meets with many reſtraints. Whenever, in ſtates which have had a democratic baſis, the legiſlators have endeavoured to put reſtraints upon ambition, their methods were as violent, as in the end they were ineffectual; as violent indeed as any the moſt jealous deſpotiſm could invent. The oſtraciſm could not very long ſave itſelf, and much leſs the ſtate which it was meant to guard, from the attempts of ambition, one of the natural inbred incurable diſtempers of a powerful democracy.—— *Appeal from the new to the old Whigs.*

LEGISLATORS (FRENCH.)

WHILST they *(French Legiſlators)* are poſſeſſed by theſe notions, *(theoretical)* it is vain to talk to them of the practice of their anceſtors, the fundamental laws of their country, the fixed form of a conſtitution, whoſe merits are confirmed by the ſolid teſt of long experience, and an increaſing public ſtrength and national proſperity. They deſpiſe experience as the wiſdom of unlettered men; and as for the reſt, they have wrought under ground a mine that will blow up at one grand exploſion all examples of antiquity, all precedents, charters, and acts of parliament. They have "The Rights of Men." Againſt theſe there can be no preſcription; againſt theſe no agreement is binding: theſe admit no temperament, and no compromiſe: any thing withheld from their full demand is ſo much of fraud and injuſtice. Againſt theſe their rights of men let no government look for ſecurity in the length of its continuance, or in the juſtice and lenity of its adminiſtration. The objections of theſe ſpeculatiſts, if its forms do not quadrate with their theories, are as valid againſt ſuch an old and beneficent government as againſt the moſt violent tyranny, or the greeneſt uſurpation. They are always at iſſue with governments, not on a queſtion of abuſe, but a queſtion of competency, and a queſtion of title. I have nothing to ſay to the clumſy ſubtilty of their political metaphyſics. Let them be their amuſement in the ſchools. —"Illâ *ſe jactet in aulâ—Æolus, et clauſo ventorum* "*carcere regnet.*"—But let them not break priſon or burſt like a *Levanter*, to ſweep the earth with their hurricane, and to break up the fountains of the great deep to overwhelm us.——*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

LIBERTY. (SEE FREEDOM.)

LIBERTY, if I underſtand it at all, is a *general* principle, and the clear right of all the ſubjects

within the realm, or of none. Partial freedom ſeem to me a moſt invidious mode of ſlavery; but unfortunately, it is the kind of ſlavery the moſt eaſily admitted in times of civil diſcord.——*Letter to the Sheriffs of Briſtol.*

LIBERTY.

Genuine Love of Liberty.

It is but too true, that the love, and even the very idea, of genuine liberty, is extremely rare. It is but too true, that there are many, whoſe whole ſcheme of freedom is made up of pride, perverſeneſs, and inſolence. They feel themſelves in a ſtate of thraldom; they imagine that their ſouls are cooped and cabined in, unleſs they have ſome man, or ſome body of men, dependent on their mercy. This deſire of having ſome one below them, deſcends to thoſe who are the very loweſt of all; and a Proteſtant cobler, debaſed by his poverty, but exalted by his ſhare of the ruling church, feels a pride in knowing it is by his generoſity alone, that the peer, whoſe footman's inſtep he meaſures, is able to keep his chaplain from a jail. This diſpoſition is the true ſource of the paſſion which many men in very humble life have taken to the American war. *Our* ſubjects in America; *our* colonies; *our* dependants. This luſt of party power, is the liberty they hunger and thirſt for; and this Syren ſong of ambition, has charmed ears, that one would have thought were never organized to that ſort of muſic.——*Ibid.*

LIBERTY.

The true danger is, when liberty is nibbled away, for expedients, and by parts.——*Ibid.*

LIBERTY,

Without Wiſdom and Virtue, the greateſt of Evils.

The effects of the incapacity ſhewn by the popular leaders in all the great members of the commonwealth are to be covered with the "*all-atoning name*" of

liberty. In ſome people I ſee great liberty indeed; in many, if not in the moſt, an oppreſſive degrading ſervitude. But what is liberty without wiſdom, and without virtue? It is the greateſt of all poſſible evils; for it is folly, vice, and madneſs, without tuition or reſtraint. Thoſe who know what virtuous liberty is, cannot bear to ſee it diſgraced by incapable heads, on account of their having high-ſounding words in their mouths. Grand, ſwelling ſentiments of liberty, I am ſure I do not deſpiſe. They warm the heart; they enlarge and liberalize our minds; they animate our courage in a time of conflict.——*Reflections on the French Revolution.*

LIBERTY AND PEACE.

LIBERTY is a good to be improved, and not an evil to be leſſened. It is not only a private bleſſing of the firſt order, but the vital ſpring and energy of the ſtate itſelf, which has juſt ſo much life and vigour as there is liberty in it. But whether liberty be advantageous or not, (for I know it is a faſhion to decry the very principle) none will diſpute that peace is a bleſſing; and peace muſt in the courſe of human affairs be frequently bought by ſome indulgence and toleration at leaſt to liberty.——*Speech on Conciliation with America.*

LIBERTY AND SERVITUDE.

A brave people will certainly prefer liberty, accompanied with a virtuous poverty, to a depraved and wealthy ſervitude. But before the price of comfort and opulence is paid, one ought to be pretty ſure it is real liberty which is purchaſed, and that ſhe is to be purchaſed at no other price. I ſhall always, however, conſider that liberty is very equivocal in her appearance, which has not wiſdom and juſtice for her companions; and does not lead proſperity and plenty in her train.——*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

LIFE.

TAKING in the whole view of life, it is more ſafe to live under the juriſdiction of ſevere but ſteady reaſon, than under the empire of indulgent, but capricious paſſion.—*Appeal from the new to the old Whigs.*

LEARNING. (SEE NOBILITY AND PRIESTHOOD.)

WE are but too apt to conſider things in the ſtate in which we find them, without ſufficiently adverting to the cauſes by which they have been produced, and poſſibly may be upheld. Nothing is more certain, than that our manners, our civilization, and all the good things which are connected with manners, and with civilization, have, in this European world of ours, depended for ages upon two principles; and were indeed the reſult of both combined; I mean the ſpirit of a gentleman, and the ſpirit of religion. The nobility and the clergy, the one by profeſſion, the other by patronage, kept learning in exiſtence, even in the midſt of arms and confuſions, and whilſt governments were rather in their cauſes than formed. Learning paid back what it received to nobility and to prieſthood; and paid it with uſury, by enlarging their ideas, and by furniſhing their minds. Happy if they had all continued to know their indiſſoluble union, and their proper place! Happy if learning, not debauched by ambition, had been ſatisfied to continue the inſtructor, and not aſpired to be the maſter! Along with its natural protectors and guardians, learning will be caſt into the mire, and trodden down under the hoofs of a ſwiniſh multitude.—*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

LOVE.

The phyſical Cauſe of Love.

WHEN we have before us ſuch objects as excite love and complacency, the body is affected, ſo far as I could obſerve, much in the following manner: The head reclines ſomething on one ſide; the eye-

lids are more cloſed than uſual, and the eyes roll gently with an inclination to the object; the mouth is a little opened, and the breath drawn ſlowly, with now and then a low ſigh; the whole body is compoſed, and the hands fall idly to the ſides. All this is accompanied with an inward ſenſe of melting and languor. Theſe appearances are always proportioned to the degree of beauty in the object, and of ſenſibility in the obſerver. And this gradation from the higheſt pitch of beauty and ſenſibility, even to the loweſt of mediocrity and indifference, and their correſpondent effects, ought to be kept in view, elſe this deſcription will ſeem exaggerated, which it certainly is not. But from this deſcription it is almoſt impoſſible not to conclude, that beauty acts by relaxing the ſolids of the whole ſyſtem. There are all the appearances of ſuch a relaxation; and a relaxation ſomewhat below the natural tone ſeems to me to be the cauſe of all poſitive pleaſure. Who is a ſtranger to that manner of expreſſion ſo common in all times and in all countries, of being ſoftened, relaxed, enervated, diſſolved, melted away by pleaſure? The univerſal voice of mankind, faithful to their feelings, concurs in affirming this uniform and general effect: and although ſome odd and particular inſtance may perhaps be found, wherein there appears a conſiderable degree of poſitive pleaſure, without all the characters of relaxation, we muſt not therefore reject the concluſion we had drawn from a concurrence of many experiments; but we muſt ſtill retain it, ſubjoining the exceptions which may occur according to the judicious rule laid down by Sir Iſaac Newton in the third book of his Optics. Our poſition will, I conceive, appear confirmed beyond any reaſonable doubt, if we can ſhew that ſuch things as we have already obſerved to be the genuine conſtituents of beauty, have each of them, ſeparately taken, a natural tendency to relax the fibres. And if it muſt be allowed us, that the appearance of the human body, when all theſe con-

ſtituents are united together before the ſenſory, further favours this opinion, we may venture, I believe, to conclude, that the paſſion called love is produced by this relaxation. By the ſame method of reaſoning which we have uſed in the enquiry into the cauſes of the ſublime, we may likewiſe conclude, that as a beautiful object preſented to the ſenſe, by cauſing a relaxation in the body, produces the paſſion of love in the mind; ſo if by any means the paſſion ſhould firſt have its origin in the mind, a relaxation of the outward organs will as certainly enſue in a degree proportioned to the cauſe.——*Sublime and Beautiful.*

LOVE (NOT ARISING FROM LUST.)

I likewiſe diſtinguiſh love, by which I mean that ſatisfaction which ariſes to the mind upon contemplating any thing beautiful, of whatſoever nature it may be, from deſire or luſt; which is an energy of the mind, that hurries us on to the poſſeſſion of certain objects, that do not affect us as they are beautiful, but by means altogether different. We ſhall have a ſtrong deſire for a woman of no remarkable beauty; whilſt the greateſt beauty in men, or in other animals, though it cauſes love, yet excites nothing at all of deſire. Which ſhews that beauty, and the paſſion cauſed by beauty, which I call love, is different from deſire, though deſire may ſometimes operate along with it; but it is to this latter that we muſt attribute thoſe violent and tempeſtuous paſſions, and the conſequent emotions of the body which attend what is called love in ſome of its ordinary acceptations, and not to the effects of beauty merely as it is ſuch.——*Ibid.*

LOVE AND ADMIRATION.

THERE is a wide difference between admiration and love. The ſublime, which is the cauſe of the

former, always dwells on great objects, and terrible; the latter on ſmall ones, and pleaſing; we ſubmit to what we admire, but we love what ſubmits to us; in one caſe we are forced, in the other we are flattered, into compliance.——*Ibid.*

LOVER (FORSAKEN.)

IF you liſten to the complaints of a forſaken lover, you obſerve that he inſiſts largely on the pleaſures which he enjoyed or hoped to enjoy, and on the perfection of the object of his deſires; it is the *loſs* which is always uppermoſt in his mind. The violent effects produced by love, which has ſometimes been even wrought up to madneſs, is no objection to the rule which we ſeek to eſtabliſh. When men have ſuffered their imaginations to be long affected with any idea, it ſo wholly engroſſes them as to ſhut out by degrees almoſt every other, and to break down every partition of the mind which would confine it. Any idea is ſufficient for the purpoſe, as is evident from the infinite variety of cauſes, which give riſe to madneſs; but this at moſt can only prove that the paſſion of love is capable of producing very extraordinary effects, not that its extraordinary emotions have any connection with poſitive pain.—*Ibid.*

LANGUAGE,

Effects of outrageous Language. (See AMERICA.*)*

THIS outrageous language, *(relative to America)* which has been encouraged and kept alive by every art, has already done incredible miſchief. For a long time, even amidſt the deſolations of war, and the inſults of hoſtile laws daily accumulated on one another; the American leaders ſeem to have had the greateſt difficulty in bringing up their people to a declaration of total independence. But the Court Gazette accompliſhed what the abettors of independence had attempted in vain. When that diſingenuous compilation, and ſtrange medley of railing

and flattery, was adduced, as a proof of the united ſentiments of the people of Great Britain, there was a great change throughout all America. The tide of popular affection, which had ſtill ſet towards the parent country, began immediately to turn; and to flow with great rapidity in a contrary courſe. Far from concealing theſe wild declarations of enmity, the author of the celebrated pamphlet which prepared the minds of the people for independence, inſiſts largely on the multitude and the ſpirit of theſe addreſſes; and he draws an argument from them, which (if the fact were as he ſuppoſes) muſt be irreſiſtible. For I never knew a writer on the theory of government ſo partial to authority, as not to allow, that the hoſtile mind of the rulers to their people, did fully juſtify a change of government; nor can any reaſon whatever be given, why one people ſhould voluntarily yield any degree of pre-eminence to another, but on a ſuppoſition of great affection and benevolence towards them. Unfortunately your rulers, truſting to other things, took no notice of this great principle of connexion. From the beginning of this affair, they have done all they could to alienate your minds from your own kindred; and if they could excite hatred enough in one of the parties towards the other, they ſeemed to be of opinion that they had gone half the way towards reconciling the quarrel.——*Letter to the Sheriffs of Briſtol.*

LOYALTY (TRUE)

CAN it be true loyalty to any government, or true patriotiſm towards any country, to degrade their ſolemn councils into ſervile drawing-rooms, to flatter their pride and paſſions, rather than to enlighten their reaſon, and to prevent them from being cautioned againſt violence leſt others ſhould be encouraged to reſiſtance? By ſuch acquieſcence great kings and mighty nations have been undone; and if any are at this day in a perilous ſituation from rejecting

truth, and liſtening to flattery, it would rather become them to reform the errors under which they ſuffer, than to reproach thoſe who forewarned them of their danger.——*Letter to the Sheriffs of Briſtol.*

LEVELLERS.

THOSE who attempt to level, never equalize. In all ſocieties, conſiſting of various deſcriptions of citizens, ſome deſcription muſt be uppermoſt. The levellers therefore only change and pervert the natural order of things; they load the edifice of ſociety, by ſetting up in the air what the ſolidity of the ſtructure requires to be on the ground. The aſſociations of taylors and carpenters, of which the republic (of Paris, for inſtance) is compoſed, cannot be equal to the ſituation, into which, by the worſt of uſurpations, an uſurpation on the prerogatives of nature, you attempt to force them.——*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

LANDED PROPERTY.

Laudable courſe of its Surplus.

WHY ſhould the expenditure of a great landed property, which is a diſperſion of the ſurplus product of the ſoil, appear intolerable to you or to me, when it takes its courſe through the accumulation of vaſt libraries, which are the hiſtory of the force and weakneſs of the human mind; through great collections of ancient records, medals, and coins, which atteſt and explain laws and cuſtoms; through paintings and ſtatues, that, by imitating nature, ſeem to extend the limits of creation; through grand monuments of the dead, which continue the regards and connexions of life beyond the grave; through collections of the ſpecimens of nature, which become a repreſentative aſſembly of all the claſſes and families of the world, that by diſpoſition facilitate, and, by exciting curioſity, open the avenues to ſcience? If,

by great permanent eſtabliſhments, all theſe objects of expence are better ſecured from the inconſtant ſport of perſonal caprice and perſonal extravagance, are they worſe than if the ſame taſtes prevailed in ſcattered individuals? Does not the ſweat of the maſon and carpenter, who toil in order to partake the ſweat of the peaſant, flow as pleaſantly and as ſalubriouſly, in the conſtruction and repair of the majeſtic edifices of religion, as in the painted booths and ſordid ſties of vice and luxury——*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

LANDED PROPERTY.

Always diſſolving into Individuality.

THE very nature of a country life, the very nature of landed property, in all the occupations, and all the pleaſures they afford, render combination and arrangement (the ſole way of procuring and exerting influence) in a manner impoſſible amongſt country people. Combine them by all the art you can, and all the induſtry, they are always diſſolving into individuality. Any thing in the nature of incorporation is almoſt impracticable amongſt them. Hope, fear, alarm, jealouſy, the ephemerous tale that does its buſineſs and dies in a day; all theſe things, which are the reins and ſpurs by which leaders check or urge the minds of followers, are not eaſily employed, or hardly at all, amongſt ſcattered people. They aſſemble, they arm, they act with the utmoſt difficulty, and at the greateſt charge. Their efforts, if ever they can be commenced, cannot be ſuſtained. They cannot proceed ſyſtematically. If the country gentlemen attempt an influence through the mere income of their property, what is it to that of thoſe who have ten times their income to ſell, and who can ruin their property by bringing their plunder to meet it at market. If the landed man wiſhes to mortgage, he falls the value of his land, and raiſes the value of

aſſignats. He augments the power of his enemy by the very means he muſt take to contend with him. The country gentleman therefore, the officer by ſea and land, the man of liberal views and habits, attached to no profeſſion, will be as completely excluded from the government of his country as if he were legiſlatively proſcribed. It is obvious, that in the towns, all the things which conſpire againſt the country gentleman, combine in favour of the money manager and director. In towns combination is natural. The habits of burghers, their occupations, their diverſion, their buſineſs, their idleneſs, continually bring them into mutual contact. Their virtues and their vices are ſociable; they are always in garriſon; and they come embodied and half diſciplined into the hands of thoſe who mean to form them for civil or for military action.——*Ibid.*

MINISTERS (FAVOURITES.)

Effects of the Court Syſtem (Favouritiſm) on our foreign Affairs, on the Policy of our Government with regard to our Dependencies, and on the anterior Oeconomy of the Commonwealth, with ſome Obſervations on the grand Principle which firſt recommended this Syſtem at Court. (*See* KING'S MEN, CABINET (DOUBLE), POLICY.

A PLAN of favouritiſm for our executory government is eſſentially at variance with the plan of our legiſlature. One great end, undoubtedly, of a mixed government like ours, compoſed of monarchy, and of controuls, on the part of the higher people and the lower, is that the prince ſhall not be able to violate the laws. This is uſeful, indeed, and fundamental; but this, even at firſt view, is no more than a negative advantage; an armour merely defenſive. It is therefore next in order, and equal in importance, *that the diſcretionary powers which are neceſſarily*

veſted in the monarch, whether for the execution of the laws, or for the nomination to magiſtracy and office, or for conducting the affairs of peace and war, or for ordering the revenue, ſhould all be exerciſed upon public principles and national grounds, and not on the likings or prejudices, the intrigues or policies, of a court.— This, I ſaid, is equal in importance to the ſecuring a government according to law. The laws reach but a very little way.

Conſtitute government how you pleaſe, infinitely the greater part of it muſt depend upon the exerciſe of the powers which are left at large to the prudence and uprightneſs of miniſters of ſtate. Even all the uſe and potency of the laws depends upon them. Without them, your commonwealth is no better than a ſcheme upon paper; and not a living, acting, effective conſtitution. It is poſſible, that through negligence, or ignorance, or deſign artfully conducted, miniſters may ſuffer one part of government to languiſh, another to be perverted from its purpoſes, and every valuable intereſt of the country to fall into ruin and decay, without poſſibility of fixing any ſingle act on which a criminal proſecution can be juſtly grounded. The due arrangement of men in the active part of the ſtate, far from being foreign to the purpoſes of a wiſe government, ought to be among its very firſt and deareſt objects. When, therefore, the abettors of the new ſyſtem tell us, that between them and their oppoſers there is nothing but a ſtruggle for power, and that therefore we are no ways concerned in it; we muſt tell thoſe who have the impudence to inſult us in this manner, that of all things we ought to be the moſt concerned, who and what ſort of men they are, that hold the truſt of every thing that is dear to us. Nothing can render this a point of indifference to the nation, but what muſt either render us totally deſperate, or ſoothe us into the ſecurity of ideots. We muſt ſoften into a credulity below the milkineſs of infancy, to think all men virtuous. We muſt be tainted with a

malignity truly diabolical, to believe all the world to be equally wicked and corrupt. Men are in public life as in private, ſome good, ſome evil. The elevation of the one, and the depreſſion of the other, are the firſt objects of all true policy. But that form of government, which, neither in its direct inſtitutions, nor in their immediate tendency, has contrived to throw its affairs into the moſt truſt worthy hands, but has left its whole executory ſyſtem to be diſpoſed of agreeably to the uncontrouled pleaſure of any one man, however excellent or virtuous, is a plan of polity defective not only in that member, but conſequentially erroneous in every part of it.

In arbitrary governments, the conſtitution of the miniſtry follows the conſtitution of the legiſlature. Both the law and the magiſtrate are the creatures of will. It muſt be ſo. Nothing, indeed, will appear more certain, on any tolerable conſideration of this matter, than that *every ſort of government ought to have its adminiſtration correſpondent to its legiſlature.* If it ſhould be otherwiſe, things muſt fall into an hideous diſorder. The people of a free commonwealth, who have taken ſuch care that their laws ſhould be the reſult of general conſent, cannot be ſo ſenſeleſs as to ſuffer their executory ſyſtem to be compoſed of perſons on whom they have no dependance, and whom no proofs of the public love and confidence have recommended to thoſe powers, upon the uſe of which the very being of the ſtate depends.

The popular election of magiſtrates, and popular diſpoſition of rewards and honours, is one of the firſt advantages of a free ſtate. Without it, or ſomething equivalent to it, perhaps the people cannot long enjoy the ſubſtance of freedom; certainly none of the vivifying energy of good government. The frame of our commonwealth did not admit of ſuch an actual election: but it provided as well, and (while the ſpirit of the conſtitution is preſerved)

better for all the effects of it than by the method of ſuffrage in any democratic ſtate whatſoever. It had always, until of late, been held the firſt duty of Parliament, *to refuſe to ſupport Government, until power was in the hands of perſons who were acceptable to the people, or while factions predominated in the Court in which the nation had no confidence.* Thus all the good effects of popular election were ſuppoſed to be ſecured to us, without the miſchiefs attending on perpetual intrigue, and a diſtinct canvaſs for every particular office throughout the body of the people. This was the moſt noble and refined part of our conſtitution. The people, by their repreſentatives and grandees, were intruſted with a deliberative power in making laws; the king with the controul of his negative. The king was intruſted with the deliberative choice and the election to office; the people had the negative in a parliamentary refuſal to ſupport. Formerly this power of controul was what kept miniſters in awe of parliaments, and parliaments in reverence with the people. If the uſe of this power of controul on the ſyſtem and perſons of adminiſtration is gone, every thing is loſt, parliament and all. We may aſſure ourſelves, that if parliament will tamely ſee evil men take poſſeſſion of all the ſtrong holds of their country, and allow them time and means to fortify themſelves, under a pretence of giving them a fair trial, and upon a hope of diſcovering, whether they will not be reformed by power, and whether their meaſures will not be better than their morals; ſuch a parliament will give countenance to their meaſures alſo, whatever that parliament may pretend, and whatever thoſe meaſures may be.

Every good political inſtitution muſt have a preventive operation as well as a remedial. It ought to have a natural tendency to exclude bad men from government, and not to truſt for the ſafety of the ſtate to ſubſequent puniſhment alone: puniſhment, which has ever been tardy and uncertain; and which,

when power is ſuffered in bad hands, may chance to fall rather on the injured than the criminal.

Before men are put forward into the great truſts of the ſtate, they ought by their conduct to have obtained ſuch a degree of eſtimation in their country, as may be ſome ſort of pledge and ſecurity to the public, that they will not abuſe thoſe truſts. It is no mean ſecurity for a proper uſe of power, that a man has ſhewn by the general tenor of his actions, that the affection, the good opinion, the confidence, of his fellow citizens have been among the principal objects of his life; and that he has owed none of the gradations of his power or fortune to a ſettled contempt, or occaſional forfeiture of their eſteem.

That man who before he comes into power has no friends, or who coming into power is obliged to deſert his friends, or who loſing it has no friends to ſympathize with him; he who has no ſway among any part of the landed or commercial intereſt, but whoſe whole importance has begun with his office, and is ſure to end with it; is a perſon who ought never to be ſuffered by a controuling parliament to continue in any of thoſe ſituations which confer the lead and direction of all our public affairs; becauſe ſuch a man *has no connexion with the intereſt of the people.*

Thoſe knots or cabals of men who have got together, avowedly without any public principle, in order to ſell their conjunct iniquity at the higher rate, and are therefore univerſally odious, ought never to be ſuffered to domineer in the ſtate; becauſe they have *no connexion with the ſentiments and opinions of the people.*

Theſe are conſiderations which in my opinion enforce the neceſſity of having ſome better reaſon, in a free country, and a free parliament, for ſupporting the miniſters of the crown, than that ſhort one, *That the king has thought proper to appoint them.* There is ſomething very courtly in this. But it is a principle pregnant with all ſorts of miſchief, in a

conſtitution like ours, to turn the views of active men from the country to the court. Whatever be the road to power, that is the road which will be trod. If the opinion of the country be of no uſe as a means of power or conſideration, the qualities which uſually procure that opinion will be no longer cultivated. And whether it will be right, in a ſtate ſo popular in its conſtitution as ours, to leave ambition without popular motives, and to truſt all to the operation of pure virtue in the minds of kings and miniſters, and public men, muſt be ſubmitted to the judgment and good ſenſe of the people of England.

Cunning men are here apt to break in, and, without directly controverting the principle, to raiſe objections from the difficulty under which the ſovereign labours to diſtinguiſh the genuine voice and ſentiments of his people, from the clamour of a faction, by which it is ſo eaſily counterfeited. The nation, they ſay, is generally divided into parties, with views and paſſions utterly irreconcileable. If the king ſhould put his affairs into the hands of any one of them, he is ſure to diſguſt the reſt; if he ſelect particular men from among them all, it is an hazard that he diſguſts them all. Thoſe who are left out, however divided before, will ſoon run into a body of oppoſition; which, being a collection of many diſcontents into one focus, will without doubt be hot and violent enough. Faction will make its cries reſound through the nation, as if the whole were in an uproar, when by far the majority, and much the better part, will ſeem for a while as it were annihilated by the quiet in which their virtue and moderation incline them to enjoy the bleſſings of government. Beſides that the opinion of the mere vulgar is a miſerable rule even with regard to themſelves, on account of their violence and inſtability. So that if you were to gratify them in their humour today, that very gratification would be a ground of their diſſatisfaction on the next. Now as all theſe

rules of public opinion are to be collected with great difficulty, and to be applied with equal uncertainty as to the effect, what better can a king of England do, than to employ ſuch men as he finds to have views and inclinations moſt conformable to his own; who are leaſt infected with pride and ſelf will, and who are leaſt moved by ſuch popular humours as are perpetually traverſing his deſigns, and diſturbing his ſervice; truſting that, when he means no ill to his people, he will be ſupported in his appointments, whether he chooſes to keep or to change, as his private judgment or his pleaſure leads him? He will find a ſure reſource in the real weight and influence of the crown, when it is not ſuffered to become an inſtrument in the hands of a faction.

I will not pretend to ſay that there is nothing at all in this mode of reaſoning; becauſe I will not aſſert that there is no difficulty in the art of government. Undoubtedly the very beſt adminiſtration muſt encounter a great deal of oppoſition; and the very worſt will find more ſupport than it deſerves. Sufficient appearances will never be wanting to thoſe who have a mind to deceive themſelves. It is a fallacy in conſtant uſe with thoſe who would level all things, and confound right with wrong, to inſiſt upon the inconveniencies which are attached to every choice, without taking into conſideration the different weight and conſequence of thoſe inconveniencies. The queſtion is not concerning *abſolute* diſcontent or *perfect* ſatisfaction in government; neither of which can be pure and unmixed at any time, or upon any ſyſtem. The controverſy is about that degree of good humour in the people, which may poſſibly be attained, and ought certainly to be looked for. While ſome politicians may be waiting to know whether the ſenſe of every individual be againſt them, accurately diſtinguiſhing the vulgar from the better ſort, drawing lines between the enterprizes of a faction and the efforts of a people, they may chance

to ſee the government, which they are ſo nicely weighing and dividing, and diſtinguiſhing, tumble to the ground in the midſt of their wiſe deliberation. Prudent men, when ſo great an object as the ſecurity of government, or even its peace, is at ſtake, will not run the riſk of a deciſion which may be fatal to it. They who can read the political ſky will ſee an hurricane in a cloud no bigger than an hand at the very edge of the horizon, and will run into the firſt harbour. No lines can be laid down for civil or political wiſdom. They are a matter incapable of exact definition. But, though no man can draw a ſtroke between the confines of day and night, yet light and darkneſs are upon the whole tolerably diſtinguiſhable. Nor will it be impoſſible for a prince to find out ſuch a mode of government, and ſuch perſons to adminiſter it, as will give a great degree of content to his people; without any curious and anxious reſearch for that abſtract, univerſal, perfect harmony, which while he is ſeeking, he abandons thoſe means of ordinary tranquillity which are in his power without any reſearch at all.

It is not more the duty than it is the intereſt of a prince, to aim at giving tranquillity to his government. But thoſe who adviſe him may have an intereſt in diſorder and confuſion. If the opinion of the people is againſt them, they will naturally wiſh that it ſhould have no prevalence. Here it is that the people muſt on their part ſhew themſelves ſenſible of their own value. Their whole importance, in the firſt inſtance, and afterwards their whole freedom, is at ſtake. Their freedom cannot long ſurvive their importance. Here it is that the natural ſtrength of the kingdom, the great peers, the leading landed gentlemen, the opulent merchants and manufacturers, the ſubſtantial yeomanry, muſt interpoſe, to reſcue their prince, themſelves, and their poſterity.

——*Ibid.*

MINISTERS.

Character of the interior Miniſtry, (*See* CABINET (DOUBLE.)

THE interior miniſtry are ſenſible, that war is a ſituation which ſets in its full light the value of the hearts of a people; and they well know, that the beginning of the importance of the people muſt be the end of theirs. For this reaſon they diſcover upon all occaſions the utmoſt fear of every thing, which by poſſibility may lead to ſuch an event. I do not mean that they manifeſt any of that pious fear which is backward to commit the ſafety of the country to the dubious experiment of war. Such a fear, being the tender ſenſation of virtue, excited, as it is regulated, by reaſon, frequently ſhews itſelf in a ſeaſonable boldneſs, which keeps danger at a diſtance, by ſeeming to deſpiſe it. Their fear betrays to the firſt glance of the eye, its true cauſe, and its real object. Foreign powers, confident in the knowledge of their character, have not ſcrupled to violate the moſt ſolemn treaties; and, in defiance of them, to make conqueſts in the midſt of a general peace, and in the heart of Europe. Such was the conqueſt of Corſica, by the profeſſed enemies of the freedom of mankind, in defiance of thoſe who were formerly its profeſſed defenders. We have had juſt claims upon the ſame powers; rights which ought to have been ſacred to them as well as to us, as they had their origin in our lenity and generoſity towards France and Spain in the day of their great humiliation. Such I call the ranſom of Manilla, and the demand on France for the Eaſt India priſoners. But theſe powers put a juſt confidence in their reſource of the *double cabinet.* Theſe demands (one of them at leaſt) are haſtening faſt towards an acquittal by preſcription. Oblivion begins to ſpread her cobwebs over all our ſpirited remonſtrances. Some of the moſt valuable branches of our trade are alſo on the point of periſhing from

the ſame cauſe. I do not mean thoſe branches which bear without the hand of the vine-dreſſer; I mean thoſe which the policy of treaties had formerly ſecured to us; I mean to mark and diſtinguiſh the trade of Portugal, the loſs of which, and the power of the cabal, have one and the ſame æra.

If, by any chance, the miniſters who ſtand before the curtain poſſeſs or affect any ſpirit, it makes little or no impreſſion. Foreign courts and miniſters, who were among the firſt to diſcover and to profit by this invention of the *double cabinet*, attend very little to their remonſtrances. They know that thoſe ſhadows of miniſters have nothing to do in the ultimate diſpoſal of things. Jealouſies and animoſities are ſedulouſly nouriſhed in the outward adminiſtration, and have been even conſidered as a *cauſa ſine qua non* in its conſtitution: thence foreign courts have a certainty, that nothing can be done by common counſel in this nation. If one of thoſe miniſters officially takes up a buſineſs with ſpirit, it ſerves only the better to ſignalize the meanneſs of the reſt, and the diſcord of them all. His colleagues in office are in haſte to ſhake him off, and to diſclaim the whole of his proceedings. Of this nature was that aſtoniſhing tranſaction, in which Lord Rochford, our ambaſſador at Paris, remonſtrated againſt the attempt upon Corſica, in conſequence of a direct authority from Lord Shelburne. This remonſtrance the French miniſter treated with the contempt that was natural; as he was aſſured, from the ambaſſador of his court to ours, that theſe orders of Lord Shelburne were not ſupported by the reſt of the (I had like to have ſaid Britiſh) adminiſtration. Lord Rochford, a man of ſpirit, could not endure this ſituation. The conſequences were, however, curious. He returns from Paris, and comes home full of anger. Lord Shelburne, who gave the orders, is obliged to give up the ſeals. Lord Rochford, who obeyed theſe orders, receives them. He goes, however, into another

department of the ſame office, that he might not be obliged officially to acquieſce in one ſituation under what he had officially remonſtrated againſt in another. At Paris, the Duke of Choiſeul conſidered this office arrangement as a compliment to him: here it was ſpoke of as an attention to the delicacy of Lord Rochford. But whether the compliment was to one or both, to this nation it was the ſame. By this tranſaction the condition of our court lay expoſed in all its nakedneſs. Our office correſpondence has loſt all pretence to authenticity; Britiſh policy is brought into deriſion in thoſe nations, that a while ago trembled at the power of our arms, whilſt they looked up with confidence to the equity, firmneſs, and candour, which ſhone in all our negotiations. I repreſent this matter exactly in the light in which it has been univerſally received.

Such has been the aſpect of our foreign politics, under the influence of a *double cabinet*. With ſuch an arrangement at court, it is impoſſible it ſhould have been otherwiſe. Nor is it poſſible that this ſcheme ſhould have a better effect upon the government of our dependencies, the firſt, the deareſt, and moſt delicate objects, of the interior policy of this empire. The colonies know, that adminiſtration is ſeparated from the court, divided within itſelf, and deteſted by the nation. The *double cabinet* has, in both the parts of it, ſhewn the moſt malignant diſpoſitions towards them, without being able to do them the ſmalleſt miſchief.

They are convinced, by ſufficient experience, that no plan, either of lenity or rigour, can be purſued with uniformity and perſeverance. Therefore they turn their eyes entirely from Great Britain, where they have neither dependence on friendſhip, nor apprehenſion from enmity. They look to themſelves, and their own arrangements. They grow every day into alienation from this country; and whilſt they are becoming diſconnected with our go-

vernment, we have not the conſolation to find, that they are even friendly in their new independence. Nothing can equal the futility, the weakneſs, the raſhneſs, the timidity, the perpetual contradiction, in the management of our affairs in that part of the world. A volume might be written on this melancholy ſubject; but it were better to leave it entirely to the reflexions of the reader himſelf than not to treat it in the extent it deſerves.

In what manner our domeſtic œconomy is affected by this ſyſtem, it is needleſs to explain. It is the perpetual ſubject of their own complaints.

The court party reſolve the whole into faction. Having ſaid ſomething before upon this ſubject, I ſhall only obſerve here, that when they give this account of the prevalence of faction, they preſent no very favourable aſpect of the confidence of the people in their own government. They may be aſſured, that however they amuſe themſelves with a variety of projects for ſubſtituting ſomething elſe in the place of that great and only foundation of government, the confidence of the people, every attempt will but make their condition worſe. When men imagine that their food is only a cover for poiſon, and when they neither love nor truſt the hand that ſerves it, it is not the name of the roaſt beef of Old England, that will perſuade them to ſit down to the table that is ſpread for them. When the people conceive that laws, and tribunals, and even popular aſſemblies, are perverted from the ends of their inſtitution, they find in thoſe names of degenerated eſtabliſhments only new motives to diſcontent. Thoſe bodies, which, when full of life and beauty, lay in their arms, and were their joy and comfort, when dead and putrid, become but the more loathſome from remembrance of former endearments. A ſullen gloom, and furious diſorder, prevail by fits; the nation loſes its reliſh for peace and proſperity, as it did in that ſeaſon of fullneſs

which opened our troubles in the time of Charles the Firſt. A ſpecies of men to whom a ſtate of order would become a ſentence of obſcurity, are nouriſhed into a dangerous magnitude by the heat of inteſtine diſturbances; and it is no wonder that, by a ſort of ſiniſter piety, they cheriſh, in their turn, the diſorders which are the parents of all their conſequence. Superficial obſervers conſider ſuch perſons as the cauſe of the public uneaſineſs, when, in truth, they are nothing more than the effect of it. Good men look upon this diſtracted ſcene with ſorrow and indignation. Their hands are tied behind them. They are deſpoiled of all the power which might enable them to reconcile the ſtrength of government with the rights of the people. They ſtand in a moſt diſtreſſing alternative. But in the election among evils they hope better things from temporary confuſion, than from eſtabliſhed ſervitude. In the mean time, the voice of law is not to be heard. Fierce licentiouſneſs begets violent reſtraints. The military arm is the ſole reliance; and then, call your conſtitution what you pleaſe, it is the ſword that governs. The civil power, like every other that calls in the aid of an ally ſtronger than itſelf, periſhes by the aſſiſtance it recieves. But the contrivers of this ſcheme of government will not truſt ſolely to the military power; becauſe they are cunning men. Their reſtleſs and crooked ſpirit drives them to rake in the dirt of every kind of expedient. Unable to rule the multitude, they endeavour to raiſe diviſions amongſt them. One mob is hired to deſtroy another; a procedure which at once encourages the boldneſs of the populace, and juſtly increaſes their diſcontent. Men become penſioners of ſtate on account of their abilities in the array of riot, and the diſcipline of confuſion. Government is put under the diſgraceful neceſſity of protecting from the ſeverity of the laws that very licentiouſneſs, which the laws had been before violated to repreſs. Every thing partakes of

the original diſorder. Anarchy predominates without freedom, and ſervitude without ſubmiſſion or ſubordination. Theſe are the conſequences inevitable to our public peace, from the ſcheme of rendering the executory government at once odious and feeble; of freeing adminiſtration from the conſtitutional and ſalutary controul of parliament, and inventing for it a *new controul*, unknown to the conſtitution, an *interior cabinet;* which brings the whole body of government into confuſion and contempt.

After having ſtated, as ſhortly as I am able, the effects of this ſyſtem on our foreign affairs, on the policy of our government with regard to our dependencies, and on the interior œconomy of the commonwealth; there remains only, in this part of my deſign, to ſay ſomething of the grand principle which firſt recommended this ſyſtem at court. The pretence was, to prevent the king from being enſlaved by a faction, and made a priſoner in his cloſet. This ſcheme might have been expected to anſwer at leaſt its own end, and to indemnify the king, in his perſonal capacity, for all the confuſion into which it has thrown his government. But has it in reality anſwered this purpoſe? I am ſure, if it had, every affectionate ſubject would have one motive for enduring with patience all the evils which attend it.

In order to come at the truth in this matter, it may not be amiſs to conſider it ſomewhat in detail. I ſpeak here of the king, and not of the crown; the intereſts of which we have already touched. Independent of that greatneſs which a king poſſeſſes merely by being a repreſentative of the national dignity, the things in which he may have an individual intereſt ſeem to be theſe: wealth accumulated; wealth ſpent in magnificence, pleaſure, or beneficence; perſonal reſpect and attention; and above all, private eaſe and repoſe of mind. Theſe compoſe the inventory of proſperous circumſtances, whether they regard a prince or a ſubject; their enjoyments differing only in the ſcales upon which they are formed.

Suppoſe then we were to aſk, whether the king has been richer than his predeceſſors in accumulated wealth, ſince the eſtabliſhment of the plan of favouritiſm? I believe it will be found that the picture of royal indigence which our court has preſented until this year, has been truly humiliating. Nor has it been relieved from this unſeemly diſtreſs, but by means which have hazarded the affection of the people, and ſhaken their confidence in parliament. If the public treaſures had been exhauſted in magnificence and ſplendour, this diſtreſs would have been accounted for, and in ſome meaſure juſtified. Nothing would be more unworthy of this nation, than with a mean and mechanical rule, to mete out the ſplendour of the crown. Indeed I have found very few perſons diſpoſed to ſo ungenerous a procedure. But the generality of people, it muſt be confeſſed, do feel a good deal mortified, when they compare the wants of the court with its expences. They do not behold the cauſe of this diſtreſs in any part of the apparatus of royal magnificence. In all this, they ſee nothing but the operations of parſimony, attended with all the conſequences of profuſion. Nothing expended, nothing ſaved. Their wonder is encreaſed by their knowledge, that beſides the revenue ſettled on his majeſty's civil liſt to the amount of 800,000*l.* a year, he has a farther aid, from a large penſion liſt, near 90,000*l.* a year, in Ireland; from the produce of the dutchy of Lancaſter (which we are told has been greatly improved); from the revenue of the dutchy of Cornwall; from the American quit-rents; from the four and a half *per cent.* duty in the Leeward Iſlands; this laſt worth to be ſure conſiderably more than 40,000*l.* a year. The whole is certainly not much ſhort of a million annually.

Theſe are revenues within the knowledge and cognizance of our national councils. We have no direct right to examine into the receipts from his

majeſty's German dominions, and the biſhopric of Oſnabrug. This is unqueſtionably true. But that which is not within the province of parliament, is yet within the ſphere of every man's own reflexion. If a foreign prince reſided amongſt us, the ſtate of his revenues could not fail of becoming the ſubject of our ſpeculation. Filled with an anxious concern for whatever regards the welfare of our ſovereign, it is impoſſible, in conſidering the miſerable circumſtances into which he has been brought, that this obvious topic ſhould be entirely paſſed over. There is an opinion univerſal, that theſe revenues produce ſomething not inconſiderable, clear of all charges and eſtabliſhments. This produce the people do not believe to be hoarded, nor perceive to be ſpent. It is accounted for in the only manner it can, by ſuppoſing that it is drawn away, for the ſupport of that court faction, which, whilſt it diſtreſſes the nation, impoveriſhes the prince in every one of his reſources. I once more caution the reader, that I do not urge this conſideration concerning the foreign revenue, as if I ſuppoſed we had a direct right to examine into the expenditure of any part of it; but ſolely for the purpoſe of ſhewing how little this ſyſtem of favouritiſm has been advantageous to the monarch himſelf; which, without magnificence, has ſunk him into a ſtate of unnatural poverty; at the ſame time that he poſſeſſed every means of affluence, from ample revenues, both in this country, and in other parts of his dominions.

Has this ſyſtem provided better for the treatment becoming his high and ſacred character, and ſecured the king from thoſe diſguſts attached to the neceſſity of employing men who are not perſonally agreeable? This is a topic upon which for many reaſons I could wiſh to be ſilent; but the pretence of ſecuring againſt ſuch cauſes of uneaſineſs, is the corner-ſtone of the court party. It has, however, ſo happened, that if I were to fix upon any one point, in which this ſyſ-

tem has been more particularly and ſhamefully blameable, the effects which it has produced would juſtify me in chooſing for that point its tendency to degrade the perſonal dignity of the ſovereign, and to expoſe him to a thouſand contradictions and mortifications. It is but too evident in what manner theſe projectors of royal greatneſs have fulfilled all their magnificent promiſes. Without recapitulating all the circumſtances of the reign, every one of which is more or leſs a melancholy proof of the truth of what I have advanced, let us conſider the language of the court but a few years ago, concerning moſt of the perſons now in the external adminiſtration: let me aſk, whether any enemy to the perſonal feelings of the ſovereign, could poſſibly contrive a keener inſtrument of mortification, and degradation of all dignity, than almoſt every part and member of the preſent arrangement? nor, in the whole courſe of our hiſtory, has any compliance with the will of the people ever been known to extort from any prince a greater contradiction to all his own declared affections and diſlikes than that which is now adopted, in direct oppoſition to every thing the people approve and deſire.

An opinion prevails, that greatneſs has been more than once adviſed to ſubmit to certain condeſcenſions towards individuals, which have been denied to the entreaties of a nation. For the meaneſt and moſt dependent inſtrument of this ſyſtem knows, that there are hours when its exiſtence may depend upon his adherence to it; and he takes his advantage accordingly. Indeed it is a law of nature, that whoever is neceſſary to what we have made our object, is ſure, in ſome way, or in ſome time or other, to become our maſter. All this, however, is ſubmitted to, in order to avoid that monſtrous evil of governing in concurrence with the opinion of the people. For it ſeems to be laid down as a maxim,

that a king has ſome ſort of intereſt in giving uneaſineſs to his ſubjects: that all who are pleaſing to them, are to be of courſe diſagreeable to him: that as ſoon as the perſons who are odious at court are known to be odious to the people, it is ſnatched at as a lucky occaſion of ſhowering down upon them all kinds of emoluments and honours. None are conſidered as well-wiſhers to the crown, but thoſe who adviſe to ſome unpopular courſe of action; none capable of ſerving it, but thoſe who are obliged to call at every inſtant upon all its power for the ſafety of their lives. None are ſuppoſed to be fit prieſts in the temple of government, but the perſons who are compelled to fly into it for ſanctuary. Such is the effect of this refined project; ſuch is ever the reſult of all the contrivances which are uſed to free men from the ſervitude of their reaſon, and from the neceſſity of ordering their affairs according to their evident intereſts. Theſe contrivances oblige them to run into a real and ruinous ſervitude, in order to avoid a ſuppoſed reſtraint that might be attended with advantage.

If, therefore, this ſyſtem has ſo ill anſwered its own grand pretence of ſaving the king from the neceſſity of employing perſons diſagreeable to him, has it given more peace and tranquillity to his majeſty's private hours? No, moſt certainly. The father of his people cannot poſſibly enjoy repoſe, while his family is in ſuch a ſtate of diſtraction. Then what has the crown or the king profitted by all this fine-wrought ſcheme? Is he more rich, or more ſplendid, or more powerful, or more at his eaſe, by ſo many labours and contrivances? Have they not beggared his exchequer, tarniſhed the ſplendour of his court, ſunk his dignity, galled his feelings, diſcompoſed the whole order and happineſs of his private life.—*Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents.*

MATERNAL INDULGENCE.

THE authority of a father, ſo uſeful to our well-being, and ſo juſtly venerable upon all accounts, hinders us from having that entire love for him that we have for our mothers, where the parental authority is almoſt melted down into the mother's fondneſs and indulgence. But we generally have a great love for our grandfathers, in whom this authority is removed a degree from us, and where the weakneſs of age mellows it into ſomething of a feminine partiality.—*Sublime and Beautiful.*

MUSIC.

THE beautiful in muſic will not bear that loudneſs and ſtrength of ſounds, which may be uſed to raiſe other paſſions; nor notes, which are ſhrill or harſh, or deep; it agrees beſt with ſuch as are clear, even, ſmooth, and weak. The ſecond is, that great variety and quick tranſitions from one meaſure or tone to another, are contrary to the genius of the beautiful in muſic. Such* tranſitions often excite mirth, or other ſudden and tumultuous paſſions; but not that ſinking, that melting, that languor, which is the characteriſtical effect of the beautiful as it regards every ſenſe. The paſſion excited by beauty, is, in fact, nearer to a ſpecies of a melancholy, than to jollity and mirth. I do not here mean to confine muſic to any one ſpecies of notes, or tones, neither is it an art in which I can ſay I have any great ſkill. My ſole deſign in this remark is, to ſettle a conſiſtent idea of beauty. The infinite variety of the affections of the ſoul will ſuggeſt to a good head, and ſkilful ear, a variety of ſuch ſounds as are fitted to raiſe them.——*Ibid.*

* I ne'er am merry, when I hear ſweet muſic.
SHAKESPEARE.

MANNERS.

MANNERS are of more importance than laws. In a great meaſure the laws depend upon them. The law touches us but here and there, and now and then. Manners are what vex or ſooth, corrupt or purify, exalt or debaſe, barbarize or refine us, by a conſtant, ſteady, uniform, inſenſible operation, like that of the air we breathe in. They give their whole form and colour to our lives. According to their quality, they aid morals, they ſupply them, or they totally deſtroy them. Of this the new French Legiſlators were aware; therefore, with the ſame method, and under the ſame authority, they ſettled a ſyſtem of manners, the moſt licentious, proſtitute, and abandoned, and, at the ſame time, the moſt coarſe, rude, ſavage, and ferocious. Nothing in the Revolution, no, not to a phraſe or a geſture, not to the faſhion of a hat or a ſhoe, was left to accident. All was the reſult of deſign; all was matter of inſtitution. No mechanical means could be deviſed in favour of this incredible ſyſtem of wickedneſs and vice, that has not been employed. The nobleſt paſſions, the love of glory, the love of country, were debauched into means of it's preſervation and it's propagation. All ſorts of ſhews and exhibitions calculated to inflame and vitiate the imagination, and pervert the moral ſenſe, have been contrived. They have ſometimes brought forth five or ſix hundred drunken women, calling at the bar of the Aſſembly for the blood of their own children, as being royaliſts or conſtitutionals. Sometimes they have got a body of wretches, calling themſelves fathers, to demand the murder of their ſons; boaſting that Rome had but one Brutus, but that they could ſhew five hundred. There were inſtances, in which they inverted, and retaliated the impiety, and produced ſons, who called for the execution of their parents. The foundation of their republic is founded in moral

paradoxes. Their patriotiſm is always prodigy. All thoſe inſtances to be found in hiſtory, whether real or fabulous, of a doubtful public ſpirit, at which morality is perplexed, reaſon is ſtaggered, and from which a frighted nature recoils, are their choſen, and almoſt ſole examples for the inſtruction of their youth.—*Regicide Peace.*

MANNERS (MODERN.)

THE royal houſehold has been carried away by the reſiſtleſs tide of manners: but with this very material difference; private men have got rid of the eſtabliſhments along with the reaſons of them; whereas the royal houſehold has loſt all that was ſtately and venerable in the antique manners, without retrenching any thing of the cumbrous charge of a Gothic eſtabliſhment. It is ſhrunk into the poliſhed littleneſs of modern elegance and perſonal accommodation; it has evaporated from the groſs concrete, into an eſſence and rectified ſpirit of expence, where you have tuns of antient pomp in a vial of modern luxury.—*Oecon. Reform.*

MARRIAGE.

OTHER Legiſlators, knowing that marriage is the origin of all relations, and conſequently the firſt element of all duties, have endeavoured, by every art, to make it ſacred. The Chriſtian religion, by confining it to the pairs, and by rendering that relation indiſſoluble, has, by theſe two things, done more towards the peace, happineſs, ſettlement, and civilization of the world, than by any other part in this whole ſcheme of Divine Wiſdom. The direct contrary courſe was taken in the Synagogue of Antichriſt, I mean in that forge and manufactory of all

evil, the ſect which predominated in the Conſtituent Aſſembly of 1789. Thoſe monſters employed the ſame, or greater induſtry, to deſecrate and degrade that State, which other Legiſlators have uſed to render it holy and honourable. By a ſtrange, uncalled for declaration, they pronounced, that marriage was no better than a common, civil contract. It was one of their ordinary tricks, to put their ſentiments into the mouths of certain perſonated characters, which they theatrically exhibited at the bar of what ought to be a ſerious Aſſembly. One of theſe was brought out in the figure of a proſtitute, whom they called by the affected name of "a mother without being a wife." This creature they made to call for a repeal of the incapacities, which in civilized States are put upon baſtards. The proſtitutes of the Aſſembly gave to this their puppet, the ſanction of their greater impudence. In conſequence of the principles laid down, and the manners authoriſed, baſtards were not long after put on the footing of the iſſue of lawful unions. Proceeding in the ſpirit of the firſt authors of their conſtitution, they went the full length of the principle, and gave a licence to divorce at the mere pleaſure of either party, and at four day's notice. With them the matrimonial connexion was brought into ſo degrading a ſtate of concubinage, that, I believe, none of the wretches in London, who keep warehouſes of infamy, would give out one of their victims to private cuſtody on ſo ſhort and inſolent a tenure. There was, indeed, a kind of profligate equity in thus giving to women the ſame licentious power. The reaſon they aſſigned was as infamous as the act, declaring that women had been too long under the tyranny of parents and of huſbands. It is not neceſſary to obſerve upon the horrible conſequences of taking one half of the ſpecies wholly out of the guardianſhip and protection of the other.—*Regicide Peace.*

MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS.

THERE are moments in the fortune of ſtates when particular men are called to make improvements by great mental exertion. In thoſe moments, even when they ſeem to enjoy the confidence of their prince and country, and to be inveſted with full authority, they have not always apt inſtruments. A politician, to do great things, looks for a *power*, what our workmen call a *purchaſe;* and if he finds that power, in politics as in mechanics, he cannot be at a loſs to apply it. In the monaſtic inſtitutions, in my opinion, was found a great *power* for the mechaniſm of politic benevolence. There were revenues with a public direction; there were men wholly ſet apart and dedicated to public purpoſes, without any other than public ties and public principles; men without the poſſibility of converting the eſtate of the community into a private fortune; men denied to ſelf-intereſts, whoſe avarice is for ſome community; men to whom perſonal poverty is honour, and implicit obedience ſtands in the place of freedom. In vain ſhall a man look to the poſſibility of making ſuch things when he wants them. The winds blow as they liſt. Theſe inſtitutions are the products of enthuſiaſm; they are the inſtruments of wiſdom. Wiſdom cannot create materials; they are the gifts of nature or of chance; her pride is in the uſe. The perennial exiſtence of bodies corporate and their fortunes, are things particularly ſuited to a man who has long views; who meditates deſigns that require time in faſhioning; and which propoſe duration when they are accompliſhed. He is not deſerving to rank high, or even to be mentioned in the order of great ſtateſmen, who, having obtained the command and direction of ſuch a power as exiſted in the wealth, the diſcipline, and the habits of ſuch corporations, as thoſe which you have raſhly deſtroyed, cannot find any way of converting it to the great and laſting

benefit of his country. On the view of this ſubject a thouſand uſes ſuggeſt themſelves to a contriving mind. To deſtroy any power, growing wild from the rank productive force of the human mind, is almoſt tantamount, in the moral world, to the deſtruction of the apparently active properties of bodies in the material. It would be like the attempt to deſtroy (if it were in our competence to deſtroy) the expanſive force of fixed air in nitre, or the power of ſteam, or of electricity, or of magnetiſm. Theſe energies always exiſted in nature, and they were always diſcernible. They ſeemed, ſome of them unſerviceable, ſome noxious, ſome no better than a ſport to children; until contemplative ability, combining with practic ſkill, tamed their wild nature, ſubdued them to uſe, and rendered them at once the moſt powerful and the moſt tractable agents, in ſubſervience to the great views and deſigns of men. Did fifty thouſand perſons, whoſe mental and whoſe bodily labour you might direct, and ſo many hundred thouſand a year of a revenue, which was neither lazy nor ſuperſtitious, appear too big for your abilities to wield? Had you no way of uſing the men but by converting monks into penſioners? Had you no way of turning the revenue to account, but through the improvident reſource of a ſpendthrift ſale? If you were thus deſtitute of mental funds, the proceeding is in its natural courſe. Your politicians do not underſtand their trade; and therefore they ſell their tools.

But the inſtitutions ſavour of ſuperſtition in their very principle; and they nouriſh it by a permanent and ſtanding influence. This I do not mean to diſpute; but this ought not to hinder you from deriving from ſuperſtition itſelf any reſources which may thence be furniſhed for the public advantage. You derive benefits from many diſpoſitions and many paſſions of the human mind, which are of as doubtful a colour in the moral eye, as ſuperſtition itſelf. It

was your buſineſs to correct and mitigate every thing which was noxious in this paſſion, as in all the paſſions. But is ſuperſtition the greateſt of all poſſible vices? In its poſſible exceſs I think it becomes a very great evil. It is, however, a moral ſubject; and, of courſe, admits of all degrees and all modifications. Superſtition is the religion of feeble minds; and they muſt be tolerated in an intermixture of it, in ſome trifling or ſome enthuſiaſtic ſhape or other, elſe you will deprive weak minds of a reſource found neceſſary to the ſtrongeſt. The body of all true religion conſiſts, to be ſure, in obedience to the will of the ſovereign of the world; in a confidence in his declarations; and an imitation of his perfections. The reſt is our own. It may be prejudicial to the great end; it may be auxiliary. Wiſe men, who as ſuch, are not *admirers* (not admirers at leaſt of the *Munera Terræ*) are not violently attached to theſe things, nor do they violently hate them. Wiſdom is not the moſt ſevere corrector of folly. They are the rival follies, which mutually wage ſo unrelenting a war; and which make ſo cruel a uſe of their advantages, as they can happen to engage the immoderate vulgar on the one ſide or the other in their quarrels. Prudence would be neuter; but if, in the contention between fond attachment and fierce antipathy concerning things in their nature not made to produce ſuch heats, a prudent man were obliged to make a choice of what errors and exceſſes of enthuſiaſm he would condemn or bear, perhaps he would think the ſuperſtition which builds, to be more tolerable than that which demoliſhes—that which adorns a country, than that which deforms it—that which endows, than that which plunders—that which diſpoſes to miſtaken beneficence, than that which ſtimulates to real injuſtice—that which leads a man to refuſe to himſelf lawful pleaſures, than that which ſnatches from others the ſcanty ſubſiſtence of their ſelf-denial. Such, I think, is very nearly the ſtate of

the queſtion between the antient founders of monkiſh ſuperſtition, and the ſuperſtition of the pretended philoſophers of the hour.——*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

MISFORTUNE.

MISFORTUNE is not crime, nor is indiſcretion always the greateſt guilt.—*Ibid.*

MAGNA CHARTA. (SEE PETITION OF RIGHTS, DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

OUR oldeſt reformation is that of Magna Charta. Sir Edward Coke, that great oracle of our law, and, indeed, all the great men who follow him, to Blackſtone, are induſtrious to prove the pedigree of our liberties. They endeavour to prove, that the ancient charter, the Magna Charta of King John, was connected with another poſitive charter from Henry the Firſt, and that both the one and the other were nothing more than a re-affirmative of the ſtill more ancient ſtanding law of the kingdom. In the matter of fact, for the quarter part, theſe authors appear to be in the right, perhaps not always; but if the lawyers miſtake in ſome particulars, it proves my poſition ſtill the more ſtrongly; becauſe it demonſtrates the powerful prepoſſeſſion towards antiquity, with which the minds of all our lawyers, and legiſlators, and of all the people, when they wiſh to influence, have been always filled; and the ſtationary policy of this kingdom in conſidering their moſt ſacred rights and franchiſes as an *inheritance*.——*Ibid.*

MONARCHY ABSOLUTE.

NONE of us love abſolute and uncontroled monarchy; but we could not rejoice at the ſufferings of a Marcus Aurelius, or a Trajan, who were abſolute monarchs, as we do when Nero is condemned by the ſenate to be puniſhed *more majorum*: Nor

when that monſter was obliged to fly with his wife Sporus, and to drink puddle, were men affected in the ſame manner, as when the venerable Galba, with all his faults and errors, was murdered by a revolted mercenary ſoldiery. With ſuch things before our eyes, our feelings contradict our theories; and when this is the caſe, the feelings are true, and the theory is falſe. What I contend for is, that in commending the deſtruction of an abſolute monarchy, *all the circumſtances* ought not to be wholly overlooked, as conſiderations fit only for ſhallow and ſuperficial minds.——*Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.*

MORALITY.

THE lines of morality are not like the ideal lines of mathematics. They are broad and deep as well as long. They admit of exceptions; they demand modifications.——*Ibid.*

METAPHYSICS.

METAPHYSICS cannot live without definition.—*Ibid.*

MANNERS AND POLITICS

Applicable to every Age.

EVERY age has its own manners, and its politics dependent upon them; and the ſame attempts will not be made againſt a conſtitution fully formed and matured, that were uſed to deſtroy it in the cradle, or to reſiſt its growth during its infancy.—*Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents.*

MERCHANTS.

Properties of Merchants applied to the Eaſt-India Company.

THE principle of buying cheap and ſelling dear is the firſt, the great foundation of mercantile dealing.

A great deal of ſtrictneſs in driving bargains for whatever we contract, is another of the principles of mercantile policy. Try the company by that teſt! Look at the contracts that are made for them. Is the company ſo much as a good commiſſary to their own armies? I engage to ſelect for you, out of the innumerable maſs of their dealings, all conducted very nearly alike, one contract only, the exceſſive profits on which during a ſhort term would pay the whole of their year's dividend. I ſhall undertake to ſhew, that upon two others, that the inordinate profits given, with the loſſes incurred in order to ſecure thoſe profits, would pay a year's dividend more.

It is a third property of trading men, to ſee that their clerks do not divert the dealings of the maſter to their own benefit. It was the other day only, when their governor and council taxed the company's inveſtment with a ſum of fifty thouſand pounds, as an inducement to perſuade only ſeven members of their board of trade to give their *honour* that they would abſtain from ſuch profits upon that inveſtment as they muſt have violated their *oaths* if they had made at all.

It is a fourth quality of a merchant to be exact in his accounts. What will be thought, when you have fully before you the mode of accounting made uſe of in the treaſury of Bengal?—I hope you will have it ſoon. With regard to one of their agencies, when it came to the material part, the prime coſt of the goods on which a commiſſion of fifteen *per cent.* was allowed, to the aſtoniſhment of the factory to whom the commodities were ſent, the accountant-general reports that he did not think himſelf authorized to call for *vouchers* relative to this and other particulars—becauſe the agent was upon his *honour* with regard to them. A new principle of account upon honour ſeems to be regularly eſtabliſhed in their dealings and their treaſury, which in reality amounts

to an entire annihilation of the principle of all accounts.

It is a fifth property of a merchant, who does not meditate a fraudulent bankruptcy, to calculate his probable profits upon the money he takes up to veſt in buſineſs. Did the company, when they bought goods on bonds bearing 8 *per cent.* intereſt, at 10, and even 20 *per cent.* diſcount, even aſk themſelves a queſtion concerning the poſſibility of advantage from dealing on theſe terms?

The laſt quality of a merchant I ſhall advert to, is the taking care to be properly prepared, in caſh or goods, in the ordinary courſe of ſale, for the bills which are drawn on them. Now I aſk, whether they have ever calculated the clear produce of any given ſales, to make them tally with the four million of bills which are come and coming upon them, ſo as at the proper periods to enable the one to liquidate the other? No, they have not. They are now obliged to borrow money of their own ſervants to purchaſe their inveſtment. The ſervants ſtipulate five *per cent.* on the capital they advance, if their bills ſhould not be paid at the time when they become due; and the value of the rupee on which they charge this intereſt is taken at two ſhillings and a penny. Has the company ever troubled themſelves to enquire whether their ſales can bear the payment of that intereſt, and at that rate of exchange? Have they once conſidered the dilemma in which they are placed—the ruin of their credit in the Eaſt Indies, if they refuſe the bills—the ruin of their credit and exiſtence in England, if they accept them? Indeed no trace of equitable government is found in their politics; not one trace of commercial principle in their mercantile dealing; and hence is the deepeſt and matureſt wiſdom of parliament demanded, and the beſt reſources of this kingdom muſt be ſtrained, to reſtore them; that is, to reſtore the countries deſtroyed by the miſconduct of the company, and to reſtore

the company itſelf, ruined by the conſequences of their plans for deſtroying what they were bound to preſerve.—*Speech on Mr. Fox's Eaſt-India Bill.*

MIDDLESEX ELECTION.

Conteſt (how to be conſidered.)

We muſt purpoſely ſhut our eyes, if we conſider this matter (the incapacitation of Mr. Wilkes) merely as a conteſt between the Houſe of Commons and the electors. The true conteſt is between the electors of the kingdom and the crown; the crown acting by an inſtrumental Houſe of Commons. It is preciſely the ſame, whether the miniſters of the crown can diſqualify by a dependent Houſe of Commons, or by a dependent court of *ſtar-chamber*, or by a dependent court of King's Bench. If once members of parliament can be practically convinced, that they do not depend on the affection or opinion of the people for their political being, they will give themſelves over, without even an appearance of reſerve, to the influence of the court. Indeed, a parliament unconnected with the people, is eſſential to a miniſtry unconnected with the people; and therefore thoſe who ſaw through what mighty difficulties the interior miniſtry waded, and the exterior were dragged, in this buſineſs, will conceive of what prodigious importance, the new corps of *king's men* held this principle of occaſional and perſonal incapacitation, to the whole body of their deſign.—*Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents.*

MINISTERS,

Our natural Rulers.

Miniſters are not only our natural rulers, but our natural guides. Reaſon, clearly and manfully delivered, has in itſelf a mighty force; but reaſon, in

the mouth of legal authority, is, I may ſay, irreſiſtible.—*Regicide Peace.*

MEANS (EXTRAORDINARY.)

We may reſt aſſured, that when the maxims of any government eſtabliſh among its reſources extraordinary means, and thoſe exerted with a ſtrong hand, that ſtrong hand will provide thoſe extraordinary means for *itſelf*.—*Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents.*

THE MINT.

The *Mint*, though not a department of the houſehold, has the ſame vices. It is a great expence to the nation, chiefly for the ſake of members of parliament. It has its officers of parade and dignity. It has its treaſury too. It is a ſort of corporate body; and formerly was a body of great importance; as much ſo on the then ſcale of things, and the then order of buſineſs, as the bank is at this day. It was the great center of money tranſactions and remittances for our own, and for other nations; until king Charles the firſt, among other arbitrary projects, dictated by deſpotic neceſſity, made him withhold the money that lay there for remittance. That blow (and happily too) the mint never recovered. Now it is no bank; no remittance-ſhop. The mint, Sir, is a *manufacture*, and it is nothing elſe; and it ought to be undertaken upon the principles of a manufacture; that is, for the beſt and cheapeſt execution, by a contract, upon proper ſecurities, and under proper regulations.——*Oecon. Reform.*

MONEY.

Want of Money how ſupplied.

They (the French) are embarraſſed indeed in the higheſt degree, but not wholly reſourceleſs. They

are without the ſpecies of money. Circulation of money is a great convenience, but a ſubſtitute for it may be found. Whilſt the great objects of production and conſumption, corn, cattle, wine, and the like, exiſt in a country, the means of giving them circulation with more or leſs convenience, cannot be *wholly* wanting. The great confiſcation of the church and of the crown lands, and of the appenages of the princes, for the purchaſe of all which their paper is always received at par, gives means of continually deſtroying and continually creating, and this perpetual deſtruction and renovation feeds the ſpeculative market, and prevents, and will prevent, till that fund of confiſcation begins to fail, a *total* depreciation.—*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

MONIED INTEREST.

THE monied intereſt is, in its nature, more ready for any adventure; and its poſſeſſors more diſpoſed to new enterprizes of any kind. Being of a recent acquiſition, it falls in more naturally with any novelties. It is therefore the kind of wealth which will be reſorted to by all who wiſh for change.—*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

MONIED INTEREST

Not neceſſary to the French.

BUT all conſideration of public credit in France is of little avail at preſent. The action, indeed, of the monied intereſt, was of abſolute neceſſity at the beginning of this Revolution; but the French republics can ſtand without any aſſiſtance from that deſcription of men, which, as things are now circumſtanced, rather ſtands in need of aſſiſtance itſelf from the power which alone ſubſtantially exiſts in France; I mean the ſeveral diſtricts and municipal

republics, and the ſeveral clubs which direct all their affairs and appoint all their magiſtrates. This is the power now paramount to every thing, even to the Aſſembly itſelf called National, and that to which tribunals, prieſthood, laws, finances, and both deſcriptions of military power, are wholly ſubſervient, ſo far as the military power of either deſcription yields obedience to any name of authority.—*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

MARSEILLES.

MARSEILLES, the hotteſt focus of ſedition in France.——*Ibid.*

MUNICIPALITIES.

IN my opinion there never was ſeen ſo ſtrong a government internally as that of the French Municipalities. If ever any rebellion can ariſe againſt the preſent ſyſtem, it muſt begin where the Revolution which gave birth to it did, at the capital. Paris is the only place in which there is the leaſt freedom of intercourſe. But even there, ſo many ſervants as any man has, ſo many ſpies, and irreconcileable domeſtic enemies.——*Ibid.*

MEDITERRANEAN.

THE great object for which we preſerved Minorca, whilſt we could keep it, and for which we ſtill retain Gibraltar, both at a great expence, was, and is, to prevent the predominance of France over the Mediterranean.——*Ibid.*

MARINE (FRENCH.)

THE French marine reſembles not a little the old armaments of the Flibuſtriers, which about a century back, in conjunction with pirates of our nation, brought ſuch calamities upon the Spaniſh colonies.

They differ only in this, that the preſent piratical force is, out of all meaſure and compariſon, greater; one hundred and fifty ſhips of the line, and frigates being ready built, moſt of them in a manner new, and all applicable in different ways to that ſervice. Privateers and Mooriſh corſairs poſſeſs not the beſt ſeamanſhip, and very little diſcipline, and, indeed, can make no figure in regular ſervice; but in deſperate adventures, and animated with a luſt of plunder, they are truly formidable.——*Ibid.*

NEWSPAPERS. (*See* REVOLUTION (FRENCH.)

The Progreſs of the French Revolution indebted to Newſpapers.

WHAT direction the French ſpirit of proſelytiſm is likely to take, and in what order it is likely to prevail in the ſeveral parts of Europe, it is not eaſy to determine. The ſeeds are ſown almoſt every where, chiefly by newſpaper circulations, infinitely more efficacious and extenſive than ever they were. And they are a more important inſtrument than generally is imagined. They are a part of the reading of all, they are the whole of the reading of the far greater number. There are thirty of them in Paris alone. The language diffuſes them more widely than the Engliſh, though the Engliſh too are much read. The writers of theſe papers, indeed, for the greater part, are either unknown, or in contempt, but they are like a battery, in which the ſtroke of any one ball produces no great effect, but the amount of continual repetition is deciſive. Let us only ſuffer any perſon to tell us his ſtory, morning and evening, but for one twelve months, and he will become our maſter.——*Ibid.*

NEUTRALITY IN PARTIES,

A Crime againſt the State.

SOME legiſlators went ſo far as to make neutrality in party a crime againſt the ſtate. I do not know

whether this might not have been rather to overſtrain the principle. Certain it is, the beſt patriots in the greateſt commonwealths have always commended and promoted ſuch connexions. *Idem ſentire de republica*, was with them a principal ground of friendſhip and attachment; nor do I know any other capable of forming firmer, dearer, more pleaſing, more honourable, and more virtuous habitudes. The Romans carried this principle a great way. Even the holding of offices together, the diſpoſition of which aroſe from chance not ſelection, gave riſe to a relation which continued for life. It was called *neceſſitudo ſortis;* and it was looked upon with a ſacred reverence. Breaches of any of theſe kinds of civil relation were conſidered as acts of the moſt diſtinguiſhed turpitude. The whole people was diſtributed into political ſocieties, in which they acted in ſupport of ſuch intereſts in the ſtate as they ſeverally affected. For it was then thought no crime to endeavour, by every honeſt means, to advance to ſuperiority and power thoſe of your own ſentiments and opinions. This wiſe people was far from imagining that thoſe connexions had no tie, and obliged to no duty; but that men might quit them without ſhame, upon every call of intereſt. They believed private honour to be the great foundation of public truſt; that friendſhip was no mean ſtep towards patriotiſm; that he who, in the common intercourſe of life, ſhewed he regarded ſomebody beſides himſelf, when he came to act in a public ſituation, might probably conſult ſome other intereſt than his own. Never may we become *plus ſages que les ſages*, as the French comedian has happily expreſſed it, wiſer than all the wiſe and good men who have lived before us. It was their wiſh to ſee public and private virtues not diſſolute and jarring, and mutually deſtructive, but harmoniouſly combined, growing out of one another in a noble and orderly gradation, reciprocally ſupporting and ſupported.——*Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents.*

NOBILITY. (SEE KING, VENICE, &c.)

ALL this violent cry againſt the nobility I take to be a mere work of art. To be honoured and even privileged by the laws, opinions, and inveterate uſages of our country, growing out of the prejudice of ages, has nothing to provoke horror and indignation in any man. Even to be too tenacious of thoſe privileges, is not abſolutely a crime. The ſtrong ſtruggle in every individual to preſerve poſſeſſion of what he has found to belong to him and to diſtinguiſh him, is one of the ſecurities againſt injuſtice and deſpotiſm, implanted in our nature. It operates as an inſtinct to ſecure property, and to preſerve communities in a ſettled ſtate. What is there to ſhock in this? Nobility is a graceful ornament to the civil order. It is the Corinthian capital of poliſhed ſociety. *Omnes boni nobilitati ſemper favemus*, was the ſaying of a wiſe and good man. It is, indeed, one ſign of a liberal and benevolent mind to incline to it with ſome ſort of partial propenſity. He feels no ennobling principle in his own heart who wiſhes to level all the artificial inſtitutions which have been adopted for giving a body to opinion, and permanence to fugitive eſteem. It is a ſour, malignant, envious diſpoſition, without taſte for the reality, or for any image or repreſentation of virtue, that ſees with joy the unmerited fall of what had long flouriſhed in ſplendour and in honour. I do not like to ſee any thing deſtroyed; any void produced in ſociety; any ruin on the face of the land. It was therefore with no diſappointment or diſſatisfaction that my enquiries and obſervation did not preſent to me any incorrigible vices in the *nobleſſe* of France, or any abuſe which could not be removed by a reform very ſhort of abolition. Your *nobleſſe* did not deſerve puniſhment; but to degrade is to puniſh.——*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

NETHERLANDS.

THE Emperor's own politics with regard to the Netherlands ſeem to me to be exactly calculated to anſwer the purpoſe of the French Revolutioniſts. He endeavours to cruſh the Ariſtocratic party, and to nouriſh one in avowed connexion with the moſt furious Democratiſts in France.

Theſe provinces in which the French game is ſo well played, they conſider as part of the Old French Empire: certainly they were amongſt the oldeſt parts of it. Theſe they think very well ſituated, as their party is well diſpoſed to a re-union. As to the greater nations, they do not aim at making a direct conqueſt of them, but by diſturbing them through a propagation of their principles, they hope to weaken, as they will weaken them, and to keep them in perpetual alarm and agitation, and thus render all their efforts againſt them utterly impracticable, whilſt they extend the dominion of their ſovereign anarchy on all ſides.——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

NATIONAL TIES.

THE operation of dangerous and deluſive firſt principles obliges us to have recourſe to the true ones. In the intercourſe between nations, we are apt to rely too much on the inſtrumental part. We lay too much weight upon the formality of treaties and compacts. We do not act much more wiſely when we truſt to the intereſt of men as guarantees of their engagements. The intereſts frequently tear to pieces the engagements; and the paſſions trample upon both. Entirely to truſt to either is to diſregard our own ſafety, or not to know mankind. Men are not tied to one another by papers and ſeals. They are led to aſſociate by reſemblances, by conformities, by ſympathies. It is with nations as with individuals.

Nothing is ſo ſtrong a tie of amity between nation and nation as correſpondence in laws, cuſtoms, manners, and habits of life. They have more than the force of treaties in themſelves. They are obligations written in the heart. They approximate men to men, without their knowledge, and ſometimes againſt their intentions. The ſecret, unſeen, but irrefragable bond of habitual intercourſe, holds them together, even when their perverſe and litigious nature ſets them to equivocate, ſcuffle, and fight about the terms of their written obligations.

As to war, if it be the means of wrong and violence, it is the ſole means of juſtice amongſt nations. Nothing can baniſh it from the world. They who ſay otherwiſe, intending to impoſe upon us, do not impoſe upon themſelves. But it is one of the greateſt objects of human wiſdom to mitigate thoſe evils which we cannot remove. The conformity and analogy of which I ſpeak, incapable, like every thing elſe, of preſerving perfect truſt and tranquillity among men, has a ſtrong tendency to facilitate accommodation, and to produce a generous oblivion of the rancour of their quarrels. With this ſimilitude, peace is more of peace, and war is leſs of war. I will go further. There have been periods of time in which communities, apparently in peace with each other, have been more perfectly ſeparated than, in later times, many nations in Europe have been in the courſe of long and bloody wars. The cauſe muſt be ſought in the ſimilitude in Europe of religion, laws, and manners. At bottom, theſe are all the ſame. The writers on public law have often called this *aggregate* of nations a Commonwealth. They had reaſon. It is virtually one great ſtate having the ſame baſis of general law; with ſome diverſity of provincial cuſtoms and local eſtabliſhments. The nations of Europe have had the very ſame Chriſtian religion, agreeing in the fundamental parts, varying a little in the ceremonies and in the ſubordinate doctrines.—*Regicide Peace.*

NOVELTY.

SOME degree of novelty muſt be one of the materials in every inſtrument which works upon the mind; and curioſity blends itſelf more or leſs with all our paſſions.—*Sublime and Beautiful.*

NAMES.

GREAT names have great prevalence.——*Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.*

NAPLES. (*See* SICILY.)

NAPLES has an old inveterate diſpoſition to Republicaniſm, and (however for ſome time paſt quiet) is as liable to exploſion as its own Veſuvius.——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

OECONOMY.

It is not a predilection to mean, ſordid, home-bred cares, that will avert the Conſequences of a falſe Eſtimation of our Intereſt, or prevent the ſhameful Dilapidation into which a great Empire muſt fall, by mean Reparations upon mighty Ruins.

I CONFESS I feel a degree of diſguſt, almoſt leading to deſpair, at the manner in which we are acting in the great exigencies of our country. There is now a bill in this houſe, appointing a rigid inquiſition into the minuteſt detail of our offices at home. The collection of ſixteen millions annually; a collection on which the public greatneſs, ſafety, and credit have their reliance; the whole order of criminal juriſprudence, which holds together ſociety itſelf, have at no time obliged us to call forth ſuch powers; no, nor any thing like them. There is not a principle of the law and conſtitution of this country that is not

ſubverted to favour the execution of that project *. And for what is all this apparatus of buſtle and terror? Is it becauſe any thing ſubſtantial is expected from it? No. The ſtir and buſtle itſelf is the end propoſed. The eye-ſervants of a ſhort-ſighted maſter will employ themſelves, not on what is moſt eſſential to his affairs, but on what his neareſt to his ken. Great difficulties have given a juſt value to œconomy; and our miniſter of the day muſt be an œconomiſt, whatever it may coſt us. But where is he to exert his talents? At home, to be ſure; for where elſe can he obtain a profitable credit for their exertion? It is nothing to him, whether the object on which he works under our eye be promiſing or not. If he does not obtain any public benefit, he may make regulations without end. Thoſe are ſure to pay in preſent expectation, whilſt the effect is at a diſtance, and may be the concern of other times, and other men. On theſe principles he chooſes to ſuppoſe (for he does not pretend more than to ſuppoſe) a naked poſſibility, that he ſhall draw ſome reſource out of crumbs dropped from the trenchers of penury; that ſomething ſhall be laid in ſtore from the ſhort allowance of revenue officers, overloaded with duty, and famiſhed for want of bread; by a reduction from officers who are at this very hour ready to batter the treaſury with what breaks through ſtone walls, for an increaſe of their appointments. From the marrowleſs bones of theſe ſkeleton eſtabliſhments, by the uſe of every ſort of cutting, and of every ſort of fretting tool, he flatters himſelf that he may chip and raſp an empirical alimentary powder, to diet into ſome ſimilitude of health and ſubſtance the languiſhing chimeras of fraudulent reformation.

Whilſt he is thus employed according to his policy and to his taſte, he has not leiſure to enquire into thoſe abuſes in India that are drawing off money by millions from the treaſures of this country, which are exhauſting the vital juices from members of the

* Appendix, No. 1.

ſtate, where the public inanition is far more ſorely felt than in the local exchequer of England. Not content with winking at theſe abuſes, whilſt he attempts to ſqueeze the laborious ill-paid drudges of Engliſh revenue, he laviſhes in one act of corrupt prodigality, upon thoſe who never ſerved the public in any honeſt occupation at all, an annual income equal to two thirds of the whole collection of the revenues of this kingdom.—*Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts.*

ŒCONOMIST.

It is impoſſible for a man to be an œconomiſt, who is not able to take a comparative view of his means, and of his expences, for the year which lies before him; it is impoſſible for a man to be an œconomiſt, under whom various officers in their ſeveral departments may ſpend,—even juſt what they pleaſe,—and often with an emulation of expence, as contributing to the importance, if not profit, of their ſeveral departments.—*Oecon. Reform.*

OPPRESSION, AND OPPRESSED.

What I have always thought of the matter is this—that the moſt poor, illiterate, and uninformed creatures upon earth, are judges of a *practical* oppreſſion. It is a matter of feeling; and as ſuch perſons generally have felt moſt of it, and are not of an over-lively ſenſibility, they are the beſt judges of it. But for the *real cauſe*, or the *appropriate remedy*, they ought never to be called into council about the one or the other. They ought to be totally ſhut out; becauſe their reaſon is weak; becauſe when once rouſed, their paſſions are ungoverned; becauſe they want information; becauſe the ſmallneſs of the property which individually they poſſeſs, renders them leſs attentive to the conſequence of the meaſures they adopt in affairs of moment.—*Letter to Sir H. Langriſhe, M. P.*

OPPRESSION, (EFFECTS OF.)

MEN irritated by oppreſſion, and elevated by a triumph over it, are apt to abandon themſelves to violent and extreme courſes.——*Ibid.*

OPINION.

BUT, ſay ſome, you force opinion. You can never extirpate opinion without extirpating a whole nation. Nay, by purſuing it, you only increaſe its partizans. Opinions are things out of human juriſdiction. I have formerly heard this from the mouths of great men, with more ſurprize than ſatisfaction. They alledged as a proof of their doctrine, the wars of Charles the Fifth, and ſome of his ſucceſſors, againſt the reformation.

It is ſo common, though ſo unreaſonable, it is hardly worth remarking, that no perſons purſue more fiercely with criminal proceſs, and with every kind of coercion, the publication of opinions contrary to their own, than thoſe do, who claim in this reſpect the moſt unbounded latitude to themſelves. If it were not for this inconſiſtency, then war againſt opinions might be juſtified as all others, more or leſs, according to the reaſon of the caſe: for the caſe judged on by moral prudence, and not by any univerſal abſtract principle of right, is to guide government in this delicate point.

As to the mere matter of extirpation of all kinds of opinions, whether right or wrong, without the extirpation of a people, it is a thing ſo very common, that would be clouded and obſcured rather than illuſtrated by examples. Every revolution in the predominant opinion made by the force of domeſtic legal government, by the force of any uſurpation, by the force of any conqueſt, is a proof to the contrary;—and there is no nation which has not experienced thoſe changes. Inſtances enough may be

furniſhed of people who have enthuſiaſtically, and with force, propagated thoſe opinions, which ſome time before they reſiſted with their blood. Rarely have ever great changes in opinion taken place without the application of force, more or leſs. Like every thing elſe in human life and human affairs, it is not univerſally true, that a perſecution of opinions leſſens or increaſes the number of their votaries. In finding where it may or may not have gathered theſe effects, the ſagacity of government ſhines or is diſgraced, as well as in the time, the manner, the choice of the opinions on which it ought to uſe or forbear the ſword of domeſtic or of foreign juſtice. But it is a falſe maxim, that opinions ought to be indifferent to us, either as men or as a ſtate. Opinion is the rudder of human action; and as the opinion is wiſe or fooliſh, vicious or moral, the cauſe of action is noxious or ſalutary. It has even been the great primary object of ſpeculative and doctrinal philoſophy to regulate opinion. It is the great object of political philoſophy to promote that which is ſound; and to extirpate what is miſchievous, and which directly tends to render men bad citizens in the community, and miſchievous neighbours out of it. Opinions are of infinite conſequence. They make the manners—in fact, they make the laws: they make the legiſlator. They are, therefore, of all things, thoſe to which provident government ought to look moſt to in their beginnings. After a time they may look to them in vain. When, therefore, I am told that a war is a war of opinions, I am told that it is the moſt important of all wars.

Here I muſt not be told that this would lead to eternal war and perſecution. It would certainly, if we argued like metaphyſicians run mad, who do not correct prudence, the queen of virtues, to be any virtue at all,—and would either throw the bridle on the neck of headlong nature, or tie it up for ever to the poſt. No ſophiſtry—no chicane here. Govern-

ment is not to refine men out of innocent and moral liberty by forced inferences, drawn by a torturing logic; or to ſuffer them to go down hill the highway that leads directly to every crime and every vice.—*Regicide Peace.*

ORDER.

A particular order of things may be altered; order itſelf cannot loſe its value.——*Letter to a Noble Lord.*

OBSCURITY.

To make any thing very terrible, obſcurity ſeems in general to be neceſſary. When we know the full extent of any danger, when we can accuſtom our eyes to it, a great deal of the apprehenſion vaniſhes. Every one will be ſenſible of this, who conſiders how greatly night adds to our dread, in all caſes of danger, and how much the notions of ghoſts and goblins, of which none can form clear ideas, affect minds which give credit to the popular tales concerning ſuch ſorts of beings. Thoſe deſpotic governments, which are founded on the paſſions of men, and principally upon the paſſion of fear, keep their chief as much as may be from the public eye. The policy has been the ſame in many caſes of religion. Almoſt all the heathen temples were dark. Even in the barbarous temples of the Americans at this day, they keep their idol in a dark part of the hut, which is conſecrated to his worſhip. For this purpoſe too the Druids performed all their ceremonies in the boſom of the darkeſt woods, and in the ſhade of the oldeſt and moſt ſpreading oak. No perſon ſeems better to have underſtood the ſecret of heightening, or of ſetting terrible things, if I may uſe the expreſſion, in their ſtrongeſt light, by the force of a judicious obſcurity, than Milton. His deſcription of death in

the ſecond book is admirably ſtudied; it is aſtoniſhing with what a gloomy pomp, with what a ſignificant and expreſſive uncertainty of ſtrokes and colouring, he has finiſhed the portrait of the king of terrors:

The other ſhape,
If ſhape it might be call'd that ſhape had none
Diſtinguiſhable, in member, joint, or limb;
Or ſubſtance might be call'd that ſhadow ſeem'd,
For each ſeem'd either; black he ſtood as night;
Fierce as ten furies; terrible as hell;
And ſhook a deadly dart. What ſeem'd his head
The likeneſs of a kingly crown had on.

In this deſcription all is dark, uncertain, confuſed, terrible, and ſublime to the laſt degree.——*Sublime and Beautiful.*

PROPORTION AND BEAUTY.

Let us ſee whether proportion can in any ſenſe be conſidered as the cauſe of beauty, as hath been ſo generally, and by ſome ſo confidently affirmed. If proportion be one of the conſtituents of beauty, it muſt derive that power either from ſome natural properties inherent in certain meaſures, which operate mechanically; from the operation of cuſtom; or from the fitneſs which ſome meaſures have to anſwer ſome particular ends of conveniency. Our buſineſs therefore is to enquire, whether the parts of thoſe objects, which are found beautiful in the vegetable or animal kingdoms, are conſtantly ſo formed according to ſuch certain meaſures, as may ſerve to ſatisfy us that their beauty reſults from thoſe meaſures on the principle of a natural mechanical cauſe; or from cuſtom; or, in fine, from their fitneſs for any determinate purpoſes. I intend to examine this point under each of theſe heads in their order. But before I proceed further, I hope it will not be thought amiſs, if I lay down the rules which governed me in

this enquiry, and which have miſled me in it, if I have gone aſtray. 1. If two bodies produce the ſame or a ſimilar effect on the mind, and on examination they are found to agree in ſome of their properties, and to differ in others; the common effect is to be attributed to the properties in which they agree, and not to thoſe in which they differ. 2. Not to account for the effect of a natural object from the effect of an artificial object. 3. Not to account for the effect of any natural object from a concluſion of our reaſon concerning its uſes, if a natural cauſe may be aſſigned. 4. Not to admit any determinate quantity, or any relation of quantity, as the cauſe of a certain effect, if the effect is produced by different or oppoſite meaſures and relations; or if theſe meaſures and relations may exiſt, and yet the effect may not be produced. Theſe are the rules which I have chiefly followed, whilſt I examined into the power of proportion conſidered as a natural cauſe; and theſe, if he thinks them juſt, I requeſt the reader to carry with him throughout the following diſcuſſion; whilſt we enquire in the firſt place, in what things we find this quality of beauty; next, to ſee whether in theſe we can find any aſſignable proportions, in ſuch a manner as ought to convince us that our idea of beauty reſults from them. We ſhall conſider this pleaſing power, as it appears in vegetables, in the inferior animals, and in man. Turning our eyes to the vegetable creation, we find nothing there ſo beautiful as flowers; but flowers are almoſt of every ſort of ſhape, and of every ſort of diſpoſition; they are turned and faſhioned into an infinite variety of forms; and from theſe forms botaniſts have given them their names, which are almoſt as various. What proportion do we diſcover between the ſtalks and the leaves of flowers, or between the leaves and the piſtils? How does the ſlender ſtalk of the roſe agree with the bulky head under which it bends? but the roſe is a beautiful flower; and can we undertake

to ſay that it does not owe a great deal of its beauty even to that diſproportion? the roſe is a large flower, yet it grows upon a ſmall ſhrub; the flower of the apple is very ſmall, and grows upon a large tree; yet the roſe and the apple bloſſom are both beautiful, and the plants that bear them are moſt engagingly attired, notwithſtanding this diſproportion. What by general conſent is allowed to be a more beautiful object than an orange tree, flouriſhing at once with its leaves, its bloſſoms, and its fruit? but it is in vain that we ſearch here for any proportion between the height, the breadth, or any thing elſe concerning the dimenſions of the whole, or concerning the relation of the particular parts to each other. I grant that we may obſerve in many flowers, ſomething of a regular figure, and of a methodical diſpoſition of the leaves. The roſe has ſuch a figure and ſuch a diſpoſition of its petals; but in an oblique view, when this figure is in a good meaſure loſt, and the order of the leaves confounded, it yet retains its beauty; the roſe is even more beautiful before it is full blown; and the bud, before this exact figure is formed; and this is not the only inſtance wherein method and exactneſs, the ſoul of proportion, are found rather prejudicial than ſerviceable to the cauſe of beauty.——*Sublime and Beautiful.*

PARLIAMENT, (SEE VOTE.)

Qualities, favourable and unfavourable to obtain a Seat in Parliament in popular Elections.

A STRENUOUS reſiſtance to every appearance of lawleſs power; a ſpirit of independence carried to ſome degree of enthuſiaſm; an inquiſitive character to diſcover, and a bold one to diſplay, every corruption and every error of government; theſe are the qualities which recommend a man to a ſeat in the houſe of commons, in open and merely popular elections. An indolent and ſubmiſſive diſpoſition;

a diſpoſition to think charitably of all the actions of men in power, and to live in a mutual intercourſe of favours with them; an inclination rather to countenance a ſtrong uſe of authority, than to bear any ſort of licentiouſneſs on the part of the people; theſe are unfavourable qualities in an open election for members of parliament.

The inſtinct which carries the people towards the choice of the former, is juſtified by reaſon; becauſe a man of ſuch a character, even in its exorbitancies, does not directly contradict the purpoſes of a truſt, the end of which is a controul on power. The latter character, even when it is not in its extreme, will execute this truſt but very imperfectly; and, if deviating to the leaſt exceſs, will certainly fruſtrate inſtead of forwarding the purpoſes of a controul on government. But when the houſe of commons was to be new modelled, this principle was not only to be changed but reverſed. Whilſt any errors committed in ſupport of power were left to the law, with every advantage of favourable conſtruction, of mitigation, and finally of pardon; all exceſſes on the ſide of liberty, or in purſuit of popular favour, or in defence of popular rights and privileges, were not only to be puniſhed by the rigour of the known law, but by a *diſcretionary* proceeding which brought on *the loſs of the popular object itſelf*. Popularity was to be rendered, if not directly penal, at leaſt highly dangerous. The favour of the people might lead even to a diſqualification of repreſenting them. Their odium might become ſtrained through the medium of two or three conſtructions, the means of ſitting as the truſtee of all that was dear to them. This is puniſhing the offence in the offending part. Until this time, the opinion of the people, through the power of an aſſembly, ſtill in ſome ſort popular, led to the greateſt honours and emoluments in the gift of the crown. Now the principle is reverſed; and the favour of the court is the only ſure way of ob-

taining and holding thoſe honours which ought to be in the diſpoſal of the people.

It ſignifies very little how this matter may be quibbled away. Example, the only argument of effect in civil life, demonſtrates the truth of my propoſition. Nothing can alter my opinion concerning the pernicious tendency of this example, until I ſee ſome man for his indiſcretion in the ſupport of power, for his violent and intemperate ſervility, rendered incapable of ſitting in parliament. For as it now ſtands, the fault of overſtraining popular qualities, and, irregularly if you pleaſe, aſſerting popular privileges, has led to diſqualification; the oppoſite fault never has produced the ſlighteſt puniſhment. Reſiſtance to power, has ſhut the door of the houſe of commons to one man; obſequiouſneſs and ſervility to none.——*Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents.*

PARLIAMENT AND PREROGATIVE (SEE MINISTER'S, FAVOURITE, REVOLUTION.)

I WOULD not increaſe an evil, becauſe I was not able to remove it; and becauſe it was not in my power to keep the houſe of commons religiouſly true to its firſt principles, I would not argue for carrying it to a total oblivion of them. This has been the great ſcheme of power in our time. They who will not conform their conduct to the public good, and cannot ſupport it by the prerogative of the crown, have adopted a new plan. They have totally abandoned the ſhattered and old-faſhioned fortreſs of prerogative, and made a lodgement in the ſtrong hold of parliament itſelf. If they have any evil deſign to which there is no ordinary legal power commenſurate, they bring it into parliament. In parliament the whole is executed from the beginning to the end. In parliament the power of obtaining their object is abſolute; and the ſafety in the pro-

ceeding perfect; no rules to confine, no after-reckonings to terrify. Parliament cannot with any great propriety puniſh others, for things in which they themſelves have been accomplices. Thus the controul of parliament upon the executory power is loſt; becauſe parliament is made to partake in every conſiderable act of government. *Impeachment, that great guardian of the purity of the conſtitution, is in danger of being loſt, even to the idea of it.*

By this plan ſeveral important ends are anſwered to the Cabal. If the authority of parliament ſupports itſelf, the credit of every act of government which they contrive, is ſaved; but if the act be ſo very odious that the whole ſtrength of parliament is inſufficient to recommend it, then parliament is itſelf diſcredited; and this diſcredit increaſes more and more that indifference to the conſtitution, which it is the conſtant aim of its enemies, by their abuſe of parliamentary powers, to render general among the people. Whenever parliament is perſuaded to aſſume the offices of executive government, it will loſe all the confidence, love, and veneration, which it has ever enjoyed whilſt it was ſuppoſed the *corrective and controul* of the acting powers of the ſtate.——*Ibid.*

PARLIAMENT (SEPTENNIAL.)

I know, that ſince the revolution, along with many dangerous, many uſeful powers of government have been weakened. It is abſolutely neceſſary to have frequent recourſe to the legiſlature. Parliaments muſt therefore ſit every year, and for great part of the year. The dreadful diſorders of frequent elections have alſo neceſſitated a ſeptennial inſtead of a triennial duration. Theſe circumſtances, I mean the conſtant habit of authority, and the unfrequency of elections, have tended very much to draw the houſe of commons towards the character of a ſtanding ſenate. It is a diſorder which has ariſen from

the cure of greater diſorders; it has ariſen from the extreme difficulty of reconciling liberty under a monarchical government, with external ſtrength and with internal tranquillity.——*Ibid.*

PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE.

All the people have a deep intereſt in the dignity of parliament.——*Letter to Sir H. Langriſhe, M. P.*

PARLIAMENT (TRIENNIAL AND PLACE BILL.)

A triennial Parliament, or a Place Bill, not competent to effect the Ends propoſed by them.

The firſt ideas which generally ſuggeſt themſelves, for the cure of parliamentary diſorders, are, to ſhorten the duration of parliaments; and to diſqualify all, or a great number of placemen, from a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons. Whatever efficacy there may be in thoſe remedies, I am ſure, in the preſent ſtate of things, it is impoſſible to apply them. A reſtoration of the right of free election is a preliminary indiſpenſable to every other reformation. What alterations ought afterwards to be made in the conſtitution, is a matter of deep and difficult reſearch.

If I wrote merely to pleaſe the popular palate, it would indeed be as little troubleſome to me as to another, to extol theſe remedies, ſo famous in ſpeculation, but to which their greateſt admirers have never attempted ſeriouſly to reſort in practice.

I confeſs that I have no ſort of reliance upon either a triennial Parliament, or a Place Bill. With regard to the former, perhaps it might rather ſerve to counteract than to promote the ends that are propoſed by it. To ſay nothing of the horrible diſorders among the people attending frequent elections, I ſhould be fearful of committing, every three years, the independent gentlemen of the country into a conteſt with

the Treaſury. It is eaſy to ſee which of the contending parties would be ruined firſt. Whoever has taken a careful view of public proceedings, ſo as to endeavour to ground his ſpeculations on his experience, muſt have obſerved how prodigiouſly greater the power of Miniſtry is in the firſt and laſt ſeſſion of a parliament, than it is in the intermediate period, when members ſit a little firm on their ſeats. The perſons of the greateſt parliamentary experience, with whom I have converſed, did conſtantly, in canvaſſing the fate of queſtions, allow ſomething to the Court ſide, upon account of the elections depending or imminent. The evil complained of, if it exiſts in the preſent ſtate of things, would hardly be removed by a triennial parliament; for, unleſs the influence of Government in elections can be entirely taken away, the more frequently they return, the more they will harraſs private independence; the more generally men will be compelled to fly to the ſettled ſyſtematic intereſt of Government, and to the reſources of a boundleſs civil liſt. Certainly ſomething may be done, and ought to be done, towards leſſening that influence in elections; and this will be neceſſary upon a plan either of longer or ſhorter duration of parliament. But nothing can ſo perfectly remove the evil, as not to render ſuch contentions, too frequently repeated, utterly ruinous, firſt to independence of fortune, and then to independence of ſpirit.

As I am only giving an opinion on this point, and not at all debating it in adverſe line, I hope I may be excuſed in another obſervation. With great truth I may aver, that I never remember to have talked on this ſubject with any man much converſant with public buſineſs, who conſidered ſhort parliaments as a real improvement of the conſtitution. Gentlemen, warm in a popular cauſe, are ready enough to attribute all the declarations of ſuch perſons to corrupt motives. But the habit of affairs, if, on one hand, it tends to corrupt the mind, furniſhes it, on the

other, with the means of better information. The authority of ſuch perſons will always have ſome weight. It may ſtand upon a *par* with the ſpeculations of thoſe who are leſs practiſed in buſineſs; and who, with perhaps purer intentions, have not ſo effectual means of judging. It is, beſides, an effect of vulgar and puerile malignity to imagine, that every ſtateſman is of courſe corrupt, and that his opinion, upon every conſtitutional point, is ſolely formed upon ſome ſiniſter intereſt.

The next favourite remedy is a place-bill. The ſame principle guides in both; I mean, the opinion which is entertained by many, of the infallibility of laws and regulations, in the cure of public diſtempers. Without being as unreaſonably doubtful as many are unwiſely confident, I will only ſay, that this alſo is a matter very well worthy of ſerious and mature reflection. It is not eaſy to foreſee what the effect would be of diſconnecting with parliament, the greateſt part of thoſe who hold civil employments, and of ſuch mighty and important bodies as the military and naval eſtabliſhments. It were better, perhaps, that they ſhould have a corrupt intereſt in the forms of the conſtitution, than that they ſhould have none at all. This is a queſtion altogether different from the diſqualification of a particular deſcription of revenue officers from ſeats in parliament; or, perhaps, of all the lower ſorts of them from votes in elections. In the former caſe, only the few are affected; in the latter, only the inconſiderable. But a great official, a great profeſſional, a great military and naval intereſt, all neceſſarily comprehending many people of the firſt weight, ability, wealth, and ſpirit, has been gradually formed in the kingdom. Theſe new intereſts muſt be let into a ſhare of repreſentation, elſe poſſibly they may be inclined to deſtroy thoſe inſtitutions of which they are not permitted to partake. This is not a thing to be trifled

with; nor is it every well-meaning man, that is fit to put his hands to it.——*Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents.*

PARLIAMENT.

Character of Parliament at the Commencement of the French Revolution.

UPON a view indeed of the compoſition of all parties, he (Mr. Burke) finds great ſatisfaction. It is, that in leaving the ſervice of his country, he leaves parliament without all compariſon richer in abilities than he found it. Very ſolid and very brilliant talents diſtinguiſh the miniſterial benches. The oppoſite rows are a ſort of ſeminary of genius, and have brought forth ſuch and ſo great talents as never before (amongſt us at leaſt) have appeared together. If their owners are diſpoſed to ſerve their country, (he truſts they are) they are in a condition to render it ſervices of the higheſt importance. If, through miſtake or paſſion, they are led to contribute to its ruin, we ſhall at leaſt have a conſolation denied to the ruined country that adjoins us—we ſhall not be deſtroyed by men of mean or ſecondary capacities. ——*Appeal from the New to the Old Wigs.*

PARLIAMENT, (MEMBERS OF.)

To be a good member of parliament is, let me tell you, no eaſy taſk; eſpecially at this time, when there is ſo ſtrong a diſpoſition to run into the perilous extremes of *ſervile* compliance, *or wild popularity*. To unite circumſpection with vigour, is abſolutely neceſſary; but it is extremely difficult. We are now members for a rich commercial *city*, (Briſtol) this city, however, is but a part of a rich commercial *nation*, the intereſts of which are *various*, *multiform*, *and intricate*. We are members for that great *nation* which, however, is itſelf but part of a great *empire*, extended by our virtue and our fortune to the fartheſt limits of the eaſt and of the weſt. *All* theſe

wide-ſpread intereſts muſt be *conſidered;* muſt be *compared;* muſt be *reconciled,* if poſſible. We are members for a *free* country; and ſurely we all know that the machine of a free conſtitution is no *ſimple* thing; but as *intricate* and as *delicate,* as it is valuable. We are members in a *great and antient* MONARCHY; *and we muſt preſerve religiouſly the true legal rights of the ſovereign, which form the key-ſtone that binds together the noble and well-conſtructed arch of our empire and our conſtitution.* A conſtitution made up of *balanced powers,* muſt ever be a critical thing. As ſuch I mean to touch that part of it which comes within my reach."——*Speech at the cloſe of the poll at Briſtol.*

POLITY OF THE SEVERAL COUNTRIES OF EUROPE.

THE whole of the polity and œconomy of every country in Europe have been derived from the ſame ſources. They were drawn from the old Germanic or Gothic cuſtumary; from the feudal inſtitutions which muſt be conſidered as an emanation from thoſe cuſtoms; and the whole has been improved and digeſted into ſyſtem and diſcipline by the Roman law. From hence aroſe the ſeveral orders, with or without a Monarch, which are called States in every country; the ſtrong traces of which, where Monarchy predominated, were never wholly extinguiſhed or merged in deſpotiſm. In the few places where Monarchy was caſt off, the ſpirit of European Monarchy was ſtill left. Thoſe countries ſtill contiued countries of States, that is, of claſſes, orders and diſtinctions, ſuch as had before ſubſiſted, or nearly ſo. Indeed the force and form of the inſtitution called States, continued in greater perfection in thoſe republican countries than under Monarchies. From all thoſe ſources aroſe a ſyſtem of manners and of education which was nearly ſimilar in all countries, and which

ſoftened, blended, and harmonized the colours of the whole. There was little difference in the form of their Univerſities for the education of their youth, whether with regard to faculties, to ſciences, or to that erudition which is uſed to impart, with liberal morals, a kind of elegance to the mind. From this reſemblance in the modes of intercourſe, and in the whole form and faſhion of life, no citizen of Europe could be altogether an exile in any part of it. There nothing more than a pleaſing variety to recreate and inſtruct the mind; to enrich the imagination; and to meliorate the heart. When a man travelled or reſided for health, pleaſure, buſineſs or neceſſity, from his own country, he never felt himſelf quite abroad. My friend, Mr. Wyld, the late profeſſor of law in Edinburgh, a young man of infinite promiſe, and whoſe loſs at this time is ineſtimable, has beautifully applied two lines of Ovid to this unity and diverſity in Europe, before the curſe of the French Revolution had fallen upon us all.

———" Facies non omnibus una;
" Nec diverſa tamen; qualem decet eſſe ſororum."

Regicide Peace.

PRINCIPLES.

GENERAL principles cannot be debauched or corrupted by intereſt or caprice.—*Oecon. Reform.*

PRINCIPLES (PROPAGATION OF.)

THEY who have made but ſuperficial ſtudies in the natural hiſtory of the human mind, have been taught to look on religious opinions as the only cauſe of enthuſiaſtic zeal, and ſectarian propagation. But there is no doctrine whatever, on which men can warm, that is not capable of the very ſame effect. The ſocial nature of man impels him to propagate his principles.—*Regicide Peace.*

PALACES.

OUR palaces are vaſt inhoſpitable halls. There the bleak winds, there "Boreas, and Eurus, and "Caurus, and Argeſtes loud," howling through the vacant lobbies, and clattering the doors of deſerted guard rooms, appal the imagination, and conjure up the grim ſpectres of departed tyrants—the Saxon, the Norman, and the Dane; the ſtern Edwards and fierce Henries—who ſtalk from deſolation to deſolation, through the dreary vacuity, and melancholy ſucceſſion of chill and comfortleſs chambers. When this tumult ſubſides, a dead, and ſtill more frightful ſilence would reign in this deſert, if every now and then the tacking of hammers did not announce, that thoſe conſtant attendants upon all courts in all ages, Jobs, were ſtill alive; for whoſe ſake alone it is, that any trace of ancient grandeur is ſuffered to remain. Theſe palaces are a true emblem of ſome governments; the inhabitants are decayed, but the governors and magiſtrates ſtill flouriſh. They put me in mind of *Old Sarum*, where the repreſentatives, more in number than the conſtituents, only ſerve to inform us, that this was once a place of trade, and ſounding with "the buſy hum of men," though now you can only trace the ſtreets by the colour of the corn; and its ſole manufacture is in members of parliament.——*Oecon. Reform.*

PENSIONS.

INDEED no man knows, when he cuts off the incitements to a virtuous ambition, and the juſt rewards of public ſervice, what infinite miſchief he may do his country, through all generations. Such ſaving to the public may prove the worſt mode of robbing it. The crown, which has in its hands the truſt of the daily pay for national ſervice, ought to have in its hands alſo the means for the repoſe of public labour, and the fixed ſettlement of acknow-

ledged merit. There is a time, when the weather-beaten veſſels of the ſtate ought to come into harbour. They muſt at length have a retreat from the malice of rivals, from the perfidy of political friends, and the inconſtancy of the people. Many of the perſons, who in all times have filled the great offices of ſtate, have been younger brothers, who had originally little, if any fortune. Theſe offices do not furniſh the means of amaſſing wealth. There ought to be ſome power in the crown of granting penſions out of the reach of its own caprices. An intail of dependence is a bad reward of merit.

I would, therefore, leave to the crown the poſſibility of conferring ſome favours, which, whilſt they are received as a reward, do not operate as corruption. When men receive obligations from the crown through the pious hands of fathers, or of connexions as venerable as the paternal, the dependences which ariſe from thence, are the obligations of gratitude, and not the fetters of ſervility. Such ties originate in virtue, and they promote it. They continue men in thoſe habitudes of friendſhip, thoſe political connexions, and thoſe political principles in which they began life. They are antidotes againſt a corrupt levity, inſtead of cauſes of it. What an unſeemly ſpectacle would it afford, what a diſgrace would it be to the commonwealth that ſuffered ſuch things, to ſee the hopeful ſon of a meritorious miniſter begging his bread at the door of that treaſury, from whence his father diſpenſed the œconomy of an empire, and promoted the happineſs and glory of his country? Why ſhould he be obliged to proſtrate his honour, and to ſubmit his principles at the levee of ſome proud favourite, ſhouldered and thruſt aſide by every impudent pretender, on the very ſpot where a few days before he ſaw himſelf adored?—obliged to cringe to the author of the calamities of his houſe, and to kiſs the hands that are red with his father's blood?—No, Sir, theſe things are unfit—They are intolerable.

Sir, I ſhall be aſked, why I do not chuſe to deſtroy thoſe offices which are penſions, and appoint penſions under the direct title in their ſtead? I allow, that in ſome caſes it leads to abuſe; to have things appointed for one purpoſe, and applied to another. I have no great objection to ſuch a change: but I do not think it quite prudent for me to propoſe it. If I ſhould take away the preſent eſtabliſhment, the burthen of proof reſts upon me, that ſo many penſions, and no more, and to ſuch an amount each, and no more, are neceſſary for the public ſervice. This is what I can never prove; for it is a thing incapable of definition. I do not like to take away an object that I think anſwers my purpoſe, in hopes of getting it back again in a better ſhape. People will bear an old eſtabliſhment when its exceſs is corrected, who will revolt at a new one. I do not think theſe office-penſions to be more in number than ſufficient: but on that point the houſe will exerciſe its diſcretion. As to abuſe, I am convinced, that very few truſts in the ordinary courſe of adminiſtration, have admitted leſs abuſe than this. Efficient miniſters have been their own paymaſters. It is true. But their very partiality has operated as a kind of juſtice; and ſtill it was ſervice that was paid. When we look over this exchequer liſt, we find it filled with the deſcendants of the Walpoles, of the Pelhams, of the Townſhends; names to whom this country owes its liberties; and to whom his majeſty owes his crown. It was in one of theſe lines, that the immenſe and envied employment he now holds, came to a certain duke *, who is now probably ſitting quietly at a very good dinner directly under us; and acting *high life below ſtairs*, whilſt we, his maſters, are filling our mouths with unſubſtantial ſounds, and talking of hungry œconomy over his head. But he is the elder branch of an ancient and decayed houſe, joined to,

* Duke of Newcaſtle, whoſe dining room is under the houſe of commons.

and repaired by the reward of ſervices done by another. I reſpect the original title, and the firſt purchaſe of merited wealth and honour through all its deſcents, through all its transfers, and all its aſſignments. May ſuch fountains never be dried up! May they ever flow with their original purity, and refreſh and fructify the commonwealth for ages!——*Oecon. Reform.*

PUNISHMENTS (PARTICULAR).

PARTICULAR puniſhments are the cure for accidental diſtempers in the ſtate; they inflame rather than allay thoſe heats which ariſe from the ſettled miſmanagement of the government, or from a natural ill diſpoſition in the people. It is of the utmoſt moment not to make miſtakes in the uſe of ſtrong meaſures; and firmneſs is then only a virtue, when it accompanies the moſt perfect wiſdom. In truth, inconſtancy is a ſort of natural corrective of folly and ignorance. ——*Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents.*

PROTECTION.

The Influence of Protection deſtroyed by Mr. Fox's India Bill.

BUT, Sir, there is one kind of influence far greater than that of the nomination to office. This, gentlemen in oppoſition have totally overlooked, although it now exiſts in its full vigour; and it will do ſo, upon their ſcheme, in at leaſt as much force as it does now. That influence this bill cuts up by the roots; I mean the *influence of protection.* I ſhall explain myſelf:—The office given to a young man going to India is of trifling conſequence. But he that goes out an inſignificant boy, in a few years returns a great Nabob, Mr. Haſtings ſays he has two hundred and fifty of that kind of raw materials, who expect to be ſpeedily manufactured into the merchantable quality I men-

tion. One of theſe gentlemen, ſuppoſe, returns hither, loaded with odium and with riches. When he comes to England, he comes as to a priſon or as to a ſanctuary; and either are ready for him, according to his demeanor. What is the influence in the grant of any place in India, to that which is acquired by the protection or compromiſe with ſuch guilt, and with the command of ſuch riches, under the dominion of the hopes and fears which power is able to hold out to every man in that condition? That man's whole fortune, half a million perhaps, becomes an inſtrument of influence, without a ſhilling of charge to the civil liſt; and the influx of fortunes which ſtand in need of this protection is continual. It works both ways; it influences the delinquent, and it may corrupt the miniſter. Compare the influence acquired by appointing, for inſtance, even a Governor General, and that obtained by protecting him. I ſhall puſh this no further. But I wiſh gentlemen to roll it a little in their own minds.

The bill before you cuts off this ſource of influence. Its deſign and main ſcope is to regulate the adminiſtration of India upon the principles of a Court of Judicature; and to exclude, as far as human prudence can exclude, all poſſibility of a corrupt partiality, in appointing to office, or ſupporting in office, or covering from enquiry and puniſhment, any perſon who has abuſed, or ſhall abuſe his authority. At the Board, as appointed and regulated by this bill, reward and puniſhment cannot be ſhifted and reverſed by a whiſper. That commiſſion becomes fatal to cabal, to intrigue, and to ſecret repreſentation, thoſe inſtruments of the ruin of India. He that cuts off the means of premature fortune, and the power of protecting it when acquired, ſtrikes a deadly blow at the great fund, the bank, the capital ſtock of Indian influence, which cannot be veſted any where, or in any hands, without moſt dangerous conſequences to the public.—*Speech on Mr. Fox's Eaſt-India Bill.*

PRINCES. (SEE KINGS, &c.)

THEIR (princes) power is therefore by no means compleat; nor are they ſafe in extreme abuſe. Such perſons, however elevated by flattery, arrogance, and ſelf-opinion, muſt be ſenſible that, whether covered or not by poſitive law, in ſome way or other they are accountable even here for the abuſe of their truſt. If they are not cut off by a rebellion of their people, they may be ſtrangled by the very Janiſſaries kept for their ſecurity.——*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

PATRIOT.

A MAN full of warm ſpeculative benevolence may wiſh his ſociety otherwiſe conſtituted than he finds it; but a good patriot, and a true politician, always conſiders how he ſhall make the moſt of the exiſting materials of his country.——*Ibid.*

PATRIOTISM.

To be attached to the ſubdiviſion, to love the little platoon we belong to in ſociety, is the firſt principle (the germ as it were) of public affections. It is the firſt link in the ſeries by which we proceed towards a love to our country and to mankind. The intereſts of that portion of ſocial arrangement is a truſt in the hands of all thoſe who compoſe it; and as none but bad men would juſtify it in abuſe, none but traitors would barter it away for their own perſonal advantage.——*Ibid.*

PAIN.

Violent Pain deſcribed.

A man who ſuffers under violent bodily pain, (I ſuppoſe the moſt violent, becauſe the effect may be the more obvious;) I ſay a man in great pain has his

teeth ſet, his eye-brows are violently contracted, his forehead is wrinkled, his eyes are dragged inwards, and rolled with great vehemence, his hair ſtands an end, the voice is forced out in ſhort ſhrieks and groans, and the whole fabric totters.——*Sublime and Beautiful.*

PROBERT.

The famous Hiſtory of the Revenue Adventures of the bold Baron North and the good Knight Probert, upon the Mountains of Venodotia.

An attempt was lately made to improve this branch of local influence, (Principality of Wales) and to transfer it to the fund of general corruption. I have on the ſeat behind me, the conſtitution of Mr. John Probert, a knight errant, dubbed by the noble lord in the blue ribbon *, and ſent to ſearch for revenues and adventures upon the mountains of Wales. The commiſſion is remarkable; and the event not leſs ſo. The commiſſion ſets forth, that "Upon a report of "the *deputy auditor* (for there is a deputy auditor) of "the principality of Wales,) it appeared, that his "Majeſty's land revenues in the ſaid principality, "*are greatly diminiſhed*;" and "that upon a *report* "of the *ſurveyor general* of his Majeſty's land reve- "nues, upon a *memorial* of the auditor of his Majeſty's "revenues *within the ſaid principality*, that his mines "and foreſts have produced very *little profit either to the* "*public revenue or to individuals*;" and therefore they appoint Mr. Probert, with a penſion of three hundred pounds a year from the ſaid principality, to try whether he can make any thing more of that very *little* which is ſtated to be ſo *greatly* diminiſhed. "*A beggarly account of empty boxes.*" And yet, Sir, you will remark, that this diminution from littleneſs (which ſerves only to prove the infinite diviſibility of matter) was not for want of the tender and officious care (as we ſee) of ſurveyors general, and ſurveyors particu-

* Lord North.

lar; of auditors and deputy-auditors; not for want of memorials, and remonſtrances, and reports, and commiſſions, and conſtitutions, and inquiſitions, and penſions.

Probert, thus armed, and accoutred, and paid, proceeded on his adventure; but he was no ſooner arrived on the confines of Wales, than all Wales was in arms to meet him. That nation is brave, and full of ſpirit. Since the invaſion of King Edward, and the maſſacre of the bards, there never was ſuch a tumult, and alarm, and uproar, through the region of *Preſtatyn*. *Snowden* ſhook to its baſe; *Cader Edris* was looſened from its foundations. The fury of litigious war blew her horn on the mountains. The rocks poured down their goatherds, and the deep caverns vomited out their miners. Every thing above ground, and every thing under ground, was in arms. In ſhort, Sir, to alight from my Welſh Pegaſus, and to come to level ground; the *preux Chevalier* Probert went to look for revenue, like his maſters upon other occaſions, and like his maſters, he found rebellion. But we were grown cautious by experience. A civil war of paper might end in a more ſerious war; for now remonſtrance met remonſtrance, and memorial was oppoſed to memorial. The wiſe Britons thought it more reaſonable, that the poor, waſted, decrepit revenue of the principality, ſhould die a natural than a violent death. In truth, Sir, the attempt was no leſs an affront upon the underſtanding of that reſpectable people, than it was an attack on their property. They choſe that their ancient moſs-grown caſtles ſhould moulder into decay, under the ſilent touches of time, and the ſlow formality of an oblivious and drowſy Exchequer, than that they ſhould be battered down all at once by the lively efforts of a penſioned engineer. As it is the fortune of the noble lord to whom the auſpices of this campaign belonged, frequently to provoke reſiſtance, ſo it is his rule and nature to yield to that reſiſtance *in all caſes whatſoever*.

He was true to himſelf on this occaſion. He ſubmitted with ſpirit to the ſpirited remonſtrances of the Welch. Mr. Probert gave up his adventure, and keeps his penſion; and ſo ends "the famous hiſtory "of the revenue and adventures of the bold Baron "North, and the good Knight Probert, upon the "mountains of Venodotia."—*Oeconomical Reform.*

PARTY DEFINED.

PARTY is a body of men united for promoting, by their joint endeavours, the national intereſt, upon ſome particular principle in which they are all agreed. ——*Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents.*

POETRY.

Its Powers and Province.

So little does poetry depend for its effect on the power of raiſing ſenſible images, that I am convinced it would loſe a very conſiderable part of its energy if this were the neceſſary reſult of all deſcription. Becauſe that union of affecting words, which is the moſt powerful of all poetical inſtruments, would frequently loſe its force along with its propriety and conſiſtency, if the ſenſible images were always excited. There is not perhaps in the whole Æneid a more grand and laboured paſſage than the deſcription of Vulcan's cavern in Ætna, and the works that are there carried on. Virgil dwells particularly on the formation of the thunder, which he deſcribes unfiniſhed under the hammers of the Cyclops. But what are the principles of this extraordinary compoſition?

Tres imbris torti radios, tres nubis aquoſæ
Addiderant; rutili tres ignis et alitis auſtri;
Fulgores nunc terrificos, ſonitumque, metumque
Miſcebant operi, flammiſque ſequacibus iras.

This ſeems to me admirably ſublime; yet if we attend coolly to the kind of ſenſible images which a

combination of ideas of this ſort muſt form, the chimeras of madmen cannot appear more wild and abſurd than ſuch a picture. "*Three rays of twiſted* "*ſhowers, three of watery clouds, three of fire, and* "*three of the winged ſouth wind; then mixed they in* "*the work terrific lightnings, and ſound, and fear, and* "*anger, with purſuing flames.*" This ſtrange compoſition is formed into a groſs body; it is hammered by the Cyclops, it is in part poliſhed, and partly continues rough. The truth is, if poetry gives us a noble aſſemblage of words, correſponding to many noble ideas, which are connected by circumſtances of time or place, or related to each other as cauſe and effect, or aſſociated in any natural way, they may be moulded together in any form, and perfectly anſwer their end. The picturesque connexion is not demanded; becauſe no real picture is formed; nor is the effect of the deſcription at all the leſs upon this account. What is ſaid of Helen by Priam and the old men of his council, is generally thought to give us the higheſt poſſible idea of that fatal beauty.

Ου νεμεσις Τρωας και ευκνημιδας Αχαιους,
Τοιη δ' αμφι γυναικι πολυν χρονον αλγεα πασχειν
Αινως δ' αθανατοισι θεης εις ωπα εοικεν.

They cry'd, no wonder ſuch celeſtial charms
For nine long years have ſet the world in arms;
What winning graces! what majeſtic mien!
She moves a goddeſs, and ſhe looks a queen.

POPE.

Here is not one word ſaid of the particulars of her beauty; nothing which can in the leaſt help us to any preciſe idea of her perſon; but yet we are much more touched by this manner of mentioning her than by thoſe long and laboured deſcriptions of Helen, whether handed down by tradition, or formed by fancy, which are to be met with in ſome authors. I am ſure it affects me much more than the minute deſcription which Spencer has given of Belphebe; though I own

that there are parts in that deſcription, as there are in all the deſcriptions of that excellent writer, extremely fine and poetical. The terrible picture which Lucretius has drawn of religion, in order to diſplay the magnanimity of his philoſophical hero in oppoſing her, is thought to be deſigned with great boldneſs and ſpirit;

Humanâ ante oculos fœdè cum vita jaceret,
In terris, oppreſſa gravi ſub religione,
Quæ caput e cœli regionibus oſtendebat
Horribili deſuper viſu mortalibus inſtans;
Primus Graius homo mortales tollere contrà
Eſt oculos auſus.——

What idea do you derive from ſo excellent a picture? None at all, moſt certainly; neither has the poet ſaid a ſingle word which might in the leaſt ſerve to mark a ſingle limb or feature of the phantom, which he intended to repreſent in all the horrors imagination can conceive. In reality poetry and rhetoric do not ſucceed in exact deſcription ſo well as painting does; their buſineſs is, to affect rather by ſympathy than imitation; to diſplay rather the effect of things on the mind of the ſpeaker, or of others, than to preſent a clear idea of the things themſelves. This is their moſt extenſive province, and that in which they ſucceed the beſt.——*Sublime and Beautiful.*

POETRY,

Not ſtrictly an imitative Art.

HENCE we may obſerve that poetry, taken in its moſt general ſenſe, cannot with ſtrict propriety be called an art of imitation. It is indeed an imitation ſo far as it deſcribes the manners and paſſions of men which their words can expreſs; where *animi motus effert interprete lingua.* There it is ſtrictly imitation; and all merely *dramatic* poetry is of this ſort. But

deſcriptive poetry operates chiefly by *ſubſtitution*; by the means of ſounds, which by cuſtom have the effect of realities. Nothing is an imitation further than as it reſembles ſome other thing; and words undoubtedly have no ſort of reſemblance to the ideas for which they ſtand——*Ibid.*

PROGNOSTICS.

VAIN are all the prognoſtics taken from ideas and paſſions, which ſurvive the ſtate of things which gave riſe to them.——*Letter to Sir H. Langriſhe, M. P.*

PROSCRIPTION.

IF a ſtate ſhould be ſo unhappy as to think it cannot ſubſiſt without a barbarous proſcription, the perſons ſo proſcribed ought to be indemnified by the remiſſion of a large part of their taxes, by an immunity from the offices of public burden, and by an exemption from being preſſed into any military or naval ſervice.——*Letter to an Iriſh Peer on the Penal Laws.*

PEASANTS, (FRENCH.)

THE rich peaſants are bribed with church lands; and the poorer of that deſcription are, and can be, counted for nothing. They may riſe in ferocious, ill directed tumults—but they can only diſgrace themſelves and ſignalize the triumph of their adverſaries. ——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

PROFESSION.

THE degree of eſtimation in which any profeſſion is held becomes the ſtandard of the eſtimation in which the profeſſors hold themſelves.——*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

The Rationale of our Paſſions very neceſſary.

THE more accurately we ſearch into the human mind, the ſtronger traces we every where find of his wiſdom who made it. If a diſcourſe on the uſe of the parts of the body may be conſidered as an hymn to the Creator; the uſe of the paſſions, which are the organs of the mind, cannot be barren of praiſe to him, nor unproductive to ourſelves of that noble and uncommon union of ſcience and admiration, which a contemplation of the works of infinite wiſdom alone can afford to a rational mind; whilſt, referring to him whatever we find of right or good or fair in ourſelves, diſcovering his ſtrength and wiſdom even in our own weakneſs and imperfection, honouring them where we diſcover them clearly, and adoring their profundity where we are loſt in our ſearch, we may be inquiſitive without impertinence, and elevated without pride; we may be admitted, if I may dare to ſay ſo, into the counſels of the Almighty by a conſideration of his works. The elevation of the mind ought to be the principal end of all our ſtudies, which if they do not in ſome meaſure effect, they are of very little ſervice to us. But, beſides this great purpoſe, a conſideration of the rationale of our paſſions ſeems to me very neceſſary for all who would affect them upon ſolid and ſure principles. It is not enough to know them in general: to affect them after a delicate manner, or to judge properly of any work deſigned to affect them, we ſhould know the exact boundaries of their ſeveral juriſdictions; we ſhould purſue them through all their variety of operations, and pierce into the inmoſt, and what might appear inacceſſible parts of our nature,

Quod latet arcanâ non enarrabile fibrâ.

Without all this it is poſſible for a man, after a confuſed manner, ſometimes to ſatisfy his own mind of

the truth of his work; but he can never have a certain determinate rule to go by, nor can he ever make his propoſitions ſufficiently clear to others. Poets, and orators, and painters, and thoſe who cultivate other branches of the liberal arts, have without this critical knowledge ſucceeded well in their ſeveral provinces, and will ſucceed; as among artificers there are many machines made, and even invented without any exact knowledge of the principles they are governed by. It is, I own, not uncommon to be wrong in theory, and right in practice; and we are happy that it is ſo. Men often act right from their feelings, who afterwards reaſon but ill on them from principle; but as it is impoſſible to avoid an attempt at ſuch reaſoning, and equally impoſſible to prevent its having ſome influence on our practice, ſurely it is worth taking ſome pains to have it juſt, and founded on the baſis of ſure experience. We might expect that the artiſts themſelves would have been our ſureſt guides; but the artiſts have been too much occupied in the practice: the philoſophers have done little; and what they have done, was moſtly with a view to their own ſchemes and ſyſtems: and as for thoſe called critics, they have generally ſought the rule of the arts in the wrong place; they ſought it among poems, pictures, engravings, ſtatues, and buildings. But art can never give the rules that make an art. This is, I believe, the reaſon why artiſts in general, and poets principally, have been confined in ſo narrow a circle; they have been rather imitators of one another than of nature; and this with ſo faithful an uniformity, and to ſo remote an antiquity, that it is hard to ſay who gave the firſt model. Critics follow them, and therefore can do little as guides. I can judge but poorly of any thing, whilſt I meaſure it by no other ſtandard than itſelf. The true ſtandard of the arts is in every man's power; and an eaſy obſervation of the moſt common, ſometimes of the meaneſt things in nature, will give the trueſt

lights, where the greateſt ſagacity and induſtry that ſlights ſuch obſervation, muſt leave us in the dark, or, what is worſe, amuſe and miſlead us by falſe lights. In an enquiry it is almoſt every thing to be once in a right road. I am ſatisfied I have done but little by theſe obſervations conſidered in themſelves; and I never ſhould have taken the pains to digeſt them, much leſs ſhould I have ever ventured to publiſh them, if I was not convinced that nothing tends more to the corruption of ſcience than to ſuffer it to ſtagnate. Theſe waters muſt be troubled before they can exert their virtues. A man who works beyond the ſurface of things, though he may be wrong himſelf, yet he clears the way for others, and may chance to make even his errors ſubſervient to the cauſe of truth.——*Sublime and Beautiful.*

PAPER CURRENCY.

So ſoon as a nation compels a creditor to take paper currency in diſcharge of his debt, there is a bankruptcy. Whilſt paper is taken, paper will be iſſued.—*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

PERSECUTION.

It is injuſtice, and not a miſtaken conſcience that has been the principle of perſecution, at leaſt as far as it has fallen under my obſervation.——*Letter to an Iriſh Peer on the penal Laws.*

PRUDENCE.

Prudence is the queen of virtues.——*Regicide Peace.*

PRUDENCE.

Prudence is not only the firſt in rank of the virtues political and moral, but ſhe is the director,

the regulator, the ſtandard of them all.——*Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.*

PRUDENCE.

PRUDENCE in new caſes can do nothing on grounds of retroſpect.—*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

PROPERTY AND FRANCHISE.

IF property be artificially ſeparated from franchiſe, the franchiſe muſt in ſome way or other, and in ſome proportion, naturally attract property to it.——*Letter to Sir H. Langriſhe, M. P.*

PROPERTY (TRANSFER OF.)

A great object is always anſwered, whenever any property is transferr'd from hands that are not fit for that property, to thoſe that are.——*Oecon. Reform.*

PROPERTY,

Ought to be, out of all Proportion, predominant in the Repreſentation.

NOTHING is a due and adequate repreſentation of a ſtate, that does not repreſent its ability, as well as its property. But as ability is a vigorous and active principle, and as property is ſluggiſh, inert, and timid, it never can be ſafe from the invaſions of ability, unleſs it be, out of all proportion, predominant in the repreſentation. It muſt be repreſented too in great maſſes of accumulation, or it is not rightly protected. The characteriſtic eſſence of property, formed out of the combined principles of its acquiſition and conſervation, is to be *unequal*. The great maſſes, therefore, which excite envy, and tempt rapacity,

muſt be put out of the poſſibility of danger. Then they form a natural rampart about the leſſer properties in all their gradations. The ſame quantity of property, which is by the natural courſe of things divided among many, has not the ſame operation. Its defenſive power is weakened as it is diffuſed. In this diffuſion each man's portion is leſs than what, in the eagerneſs of his deſires, he may flatter himſelf to obtain by diſſipating the accumulations of others.—The plunder of the few would indeed give but a ſhare inconceivably ſmall in the diſtribution to the many. But the many are not capable of making this calculation; and thoſe who lead them to rapine, never intend this diſtribution.

The power of perpetuating our property in our families, is one of the moſt valuable and intereſting circumſtances belonging to it, and that which tends the moſt to the perpetuation of ſociety itſelf. It makes our weakneſs ſubſervient to our virtue; it grafts benevolence even upon avarice. The poſſeſſors of family wealth, and of the diſtinction which attends hereditary poſſeſſion, (as moſt concerned in it) are the natural ſecurities for this tranſmiſſion.—With us, the Houſe of Peers is formed upon this principle. It is wholly compoſed of hereditary property and hereditary diſtinction; and made therefore the third of the Legiſlature; and in the laſt event, the ſole judge of all property in all its ſubdiviſions. The Houſe of Commons too, though not neceſſarily, yet in fact is always ſo compoſed in the far greater part. Let thoſe large proprietors be what they will, and they have their chance of being among the beſt, they are at the very worſt, the ballaſt in the veſſel of the commonwealth. For though hereditary wealth, and the rank which goes with it, are too much idolized by creeping ſycophants, and the blind abject admirers of power, they are too raſhly ſlighted in ſhallow ſpeculations of the petulant, aſſuming, ſhort-ſighted coxcombs of philoſophy. Some decent regulated pre-

eminence, ſome preference (not excluſive appropriation) given to birth, is neither unnatural, nor unjuſt, nor impolitic.—*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

POLISH REVOLUTION.

THE ſtate of Poland was ſuch, that there could ſcarcely exiſt two opinions, but that a reformation of its conſtitution, even at ſome expence of blood, might be ſeen without much diſapprobation. No confuſion could be feared in ſuch an enterprize; becauſe the eſtabliſhment to be reformed was itſelf a ſtate of confuſion. A king without authority; nobles without union or ſubordination; a people without arts, induſtry, commerce, or liberty; no order within; no defence without; no effective public force, but a foreign force, which entered a naked country at will, and diſpoſed of every thing at pleaſure.—Here was a ſtate of things which ſeemed to invite, and might perhaps juſtify, bold enterprize and deſperate experiment. But in what manner was this chaos brought into order? The means were as ſtriking to the imagination, as ſatisfactory to the reaſon, and ſoothing to the moral ſentiments. In contemplating that change, humanity has every thing to rejoice and to glory in; nothing to be aſhamed of, nothing to ſuffer. So far as it has gone, it probably is the moſt pure and defecated public good which has ever been conferred on mankind. We have ſeen anarchy and ſervitude at once removed; a throne ſtrengthened for the protection of the people, without trenching on their liberties; all foreign cabal baniſhed, by changing the crown from elective to hereditary; and what was a matter of pleaſing wonder, we have ſeen a reigning king, from an heroic love to his country, exerting himſelf with all the toil, the dexterity, the management, the intrigue, in favour of a family of ſtrangers, with which ambitious men labour for the aggrandiſement of their own. Ten millions of men

in a way of being freed gradually, and therefore ſafely to themſelves and the ſtate, not from civil or political chains, which, bad as they were, could not bind the mind, but from ſubſtantial perſonal bondage. Inhabitants of cities, before without privileges, placed in the conſideration which belongs to that improved and connecting ſituation of ſocial life. One of the moſt proud, numerous, and fierce bodies of nobility and gentry ever known in the world, arranged only in the foremoſt rank of free and generous citizens. Not one man incurred loſs, or ſuffered degradation. All, from the king to the day labourer, were improved in their condition. Every thing was kept in its place and order; but in that place and order every thing was bettered. To add to this happy wonder, this unheard-of conjunction of wiſdom and fortune, not one drop of blood was ſpilled; no treachery; no outrage; no ſyſtem of ſlander, more cruel than the ſword; no ſtudied inſults on religion, morals, or manners; no ſpoil; no confiſcation; no citizen beggared; none impriſoned; none exiled; the whole was effected with a policy, a diſcretion, an unanimity and ſecreſy, ſuch as have never been before known on any occaſion; but ſuch wonderful conduct was reſerved for this glorious conſpiracy in favour of the true and genuine rights and intereſts of men. Happy people, if they know to proceed as they have begun! Happy prince, worthy to begin with ſplendor, or to cloſe with glory, a race of patriots and of kings; and to leave

> A name, which every wind to heav'n would bear,
> Which men to ſpeak, and angels joy to hear.

To finiſh all—this great good, as in the inſtant it is, contains in it the ſeeds of all further improvement, and may be conſidered as in a regular progreſs, becauſe founded on ſimilar principles, towards the ſtable excellence of a Britiſh conſtitution.

Here was a matter for congratulation and for feſtive remembrance through ages. Here moraliſts and

divines might indeed relax in their temperance to exhilarate their humanity.——*Appeal from the new to the old Whigs.*

POLISH AND FRENCH REVOLUTION COMPARED.

THEY (the French faction) cannot pretend that France had ſtood ſo much in need of a change as Poland. They cannot pretend that Poland has not obtained a better ſyſtem of liberty or of government than it enjoyed before. They cannot aſſert, that the Poliſh revolution coſt more dearly than that of France to the intereſts and feelings of multitudes of men. But the cold and ſubordinate light in which they look upon the one, and the pains they take to preach up the other of theſe revolutions, leave us no choice in fixing on their motives. Both revolutions profeſs liberty as their object; but in obtaining this object the one proceeds from anarchy to order: the other from order to anarchy. The firſt ſecures its liberty by eſtabliſhing its throne; the other builds its freedom on the ſubverſion of its monarchy. In the one their means are unſtained by crimes, and their ſettlement favours morality. In the other, vice and confuſion are in the very eſſence of their purſuit and of their enjoyment. The circumſtances in which theſe two events differ, muſt cauſe the difference we make in their comparative eſtimation. Theſe turn the ſcale with the ſocieties in favour of France. *Ferrum eſt quod amant.* The frauds, the violences, the ſacrileges, the havock and ruin of families, the diſperſion and exile of the pride and flower of a great country, the diſorder, the confuſion, the anarchy, the violation of property, the cruel murders, the inhuman confiſcations, and in the end the inſolent domination of bloody, ferocious, and ſenſeleſs clubs. Theſe are the things which they love and admire. What men admire and love, they would ſurely act. Let us ſee what is done in France; and

then let us undervalue any the ſlighteſt danger of falling into the hands of ſuch a mercileſs and ſavage faction!——*Regicide Peace.*

POLAND. (SEE SAXONY.)

POLAND, from one cauſe or other, is always unquiet. The new conſtitution only ſerves to ſupply that reſtleſs people with new means, at leaſt new modes, of cheriſhing their turbulent diſpoſition. The bottom of the character is the ſame.——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

POWER.

Always accompanied by Terror.

I KNOW ſome people are of opinion, that no awe, no degree of terror, accompanies the idea of power; and have hazarded to affirm, that we can contemplate the idea of God himſelf, without any ſuch emotion. I purpoſely avoided, when I firſt conſidered this ſubject, to introduce the idea of that great and tremendous Being, as an example in an argument ſo light as this; though it frequently occurred to me, not as an objection to, but as a ſtrong confirmation of, my notions in this matter. I hope, in what I am going to ſay, I ſhall avoid preſumption, where it is almoſt impoſſible for any mortal to ſpeak with ſtrict propriety. I ſay then, that whilſt we conſider the Godhead merely as he is an object of the underſtanding, which forms a complex idea of power, wiſdom, juſtice, goodneſs, all ſtretched to a degree far exceeding the bounds of our comprehenſion, whilſt we conſider the Divinity in this refined and abſtracted light, the imagination and paſſions are little or nothing affected. But becauſe we are bound, by the condition of our nature, to aſcend to theſe pure and intellectual ideas, through the medium of ſenſible images, and to judge of theſe divine qualities by their evident acts and exertions, it becomes extremely hard to diſentangle our

idea of the cauſe from the effect by which we are led to know it. Thus when we contemplate the Deity, his attributes and their operation coming united on the mind, form a ſort of ſenſible image, and as ſuch are capable of affecting the imagination. Now, though in a juſt idea of the Deity, perhaps none of his attributes are predominant, yet to our imagination, his power is by far the moſt ſtriking. Some reflection, ſome comparing, is neceſſary to ſatisfy us of his wiſdom, his juſtice, and his goodneſs. To be ſtruck with his power, it is only neceſſary that we ſhould open our eyes. But whilſt we contemplate ſo vaſt an object, under the arm, as it were, of almighty power, and inveſted upon every ſide with omnipreſence, we ſhrink into the minuteneſs of our own nature, and are, in a manner, annihilated before him. And though a conſideration of his other attributes may relieve in ſome meaſure our apprehenſions; yet no conviction of the juſtice with which it is exerciſed, nor the mercy with which it is tempered, can wholly remove the terror that naturally ariſes from a force which nothing can withſtand. If we rejoice, we rejoice with trembling; and even whilſt we are receiving benefits, we cannot but ſhudder at a power which can confer benefits of ſuch mighty importance. —— When the prophet David contemplated the wonders of wiſdom and power which are diſplayed in the œconomy of man, he ſeems to be ſtruck with a ſort of divine horror, and cries out, *Fearfully and wonderfully am I made!* An heathen poet has a ſentiment of a ſimilar nature; Horace looks upon it as the laſt effort of philoſophical fortitude, to behold without terror and amazement, this immenſe and glorious fabric of the univerſe:

Hunc ſolem, et ſtellas, et decedentia certis
Tempora momentis, ſunt qui formidine nulla
Imbuti ſpectant.

Lucretius is a poet not to be ſuſpected of giving way to ſuperſtitious terrors; yet when he ſuppoſes the

whole mechaniſm of nature laid open by the maſter of his philoſophy, his tranſport on this magnificent view, which he has repreſented in the colours of ſuch bold and lively poetry, is overcaſt with a ſhade of ſecret dread and horror:

His tibi me rebus quædam divina voluptas
Percipit, atque horror, quod ſic Natura tua vi
Tam manifeſta patet ex omni parte retecta.

But the ſcripture alone can ſupply ideas anſwerable to the majeſty of this ſubject. In the ſcripture, wherever God is repreſented as appearing or ſpeaking, every thing terrible in nature is called up to heighten the awe and ſolemnity of the divine preſence. The pſalms, and the prophetical books, are crowded with inſtances of this kind. *The earth ſhook* (ſays the pſalmiſt), *the heavens alſo dropped at the preſence of the Lord.* And what is remarkable, the painting preſerves the ſame character, not only when he is ſuppoſed deſcending to take vengeance upon the wicked, but even when he exerts the like plenitude of power in acts of beneficence to mankind. *Tremble thou earth! at the preſence of the Lord; at the preſence of the God of Jacob; which turned the rock into ſtanding water, the flint into a fountain of waters!* It were endleſs to enumerate all the paſſages, both in the ſacred and profane writers, which eſtabliſh the general ſentiment of mankind, concerning the inſeparable union of a ſacred and reverential awe, with our ideas of the divinity. Hence the common maxim, *Primos in orbe deos fecit timor.* This maxim may be, as I believe it is, falſe with regard to the origin of religion. The maker of the maxim ſaw how inſeparable theſe ideas were, without conſidering that the notion of ſome great power muſt be always precedent to our dread of it. But this dread muſt neceſſarily follow the idea of ſuch a power, when it is once excited in the mind. It is on this principle

that true religion has, and muſt have, ſo large a mixture of ſalutary fear; and that falſe religions have generally nothing elſe but fear to ſupport them. Before the chriſtian religion had, as it were, humanized the idea of the Divinity, and brought it ſomewhat nearer to us, there was very little ſaid of the love of God. The followers of Plato have ſomething of it, and only ſomething; the other writers of pagan antiquity, whether poets or philoſophers, nothing at all. And they who conſider with what infinite attention, by what a diſregard of every periſhable object, through what long habits of piety and contemplation it is, any man is able to attain an entire love and devotion to the Deity, will eaſily perceive, that it is not the firſt, the moſt natural, and the moſt ſtriking effect which proceeds from that idea. Thus we have traced power through its ſeveral gradations unto the higheſt of all, where our imagination is finally loſt; and we find terror, quite throughout the progreſs, its inſeparable companion, and growing along with it, as far as we can poſſibly trace them. Now, as power is undoubtedly a capital ſource of the ſublime, this will point out evidently from whence its energy is derived, and to what claſs of ideas we ought to unite it.——*Sublime and Beautiful.*

POWER AND PROPERTY.

THAT power goes with property is not univerſally true, and the idea that the operation of it is certain and invariable, may miſlead us very fatally.——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

POWER (DISCRETION OF.)

If the diſcretion of power is once let looſe upon property, we can be at no loſs to determine whoſe power, and what diſcretion it is that will prevail at laſt.—*Oecon. Reform.*

Conduct of the Coaleſced Powers in the War againſt France.

WITHOUT their principles, perhaps without any principles at all, they played the game of the Jacobins. There was a beaten road before them. The Powers of Europe were armed; France had always appeared dangerous; the war was eaſily diverted from France as a faction, to France as a ſtate. The Princes were eaſily taught to ſlide back into their old habitual courſe of politics. They were eaſily led to conſider the flames that were conſuming France, not as a warning to protect their own buildings, (which were without any party wall, and linked by a contignation into the edifice of France) as an happy occaſion for the pillaging the goods, and for carrying off the materials of their neighbour's houſe. Their provident fears were changed into avaricious hopes. They carried on their new deſigns without ſeeming to abandon the principles of their old policy. They pretended to ſeek, or they flattered themſelves that they ſought, in the acceſſion of new fortreſſes, and new territories, a *defenſive* ſecurity. But the ſecurity wanted was againſt a kind of power, which was not dangerous in its fortreſſes nor in it's territories, but in it's ſpirit and it's principles. They aimed, or pretended to aim, at *defending* themſelves againſt a danger, from which there can be no ſecurity in any *defenſive* plan. If armies and fortreſſes were a defence againſt Jacobinism, Louis the Sixteenth would this day reign a powerful monarch over an happy people.

This error obliged them, even in their offenſive operations, to adopt a plan of war againſt the ſucceſs of which there was ſomething little ſhort of mathematical demonſtration. They refuſed to take any ſtep which might ſtrike at the heart of affairs. They ſeemed unwilling to wound the enemy in any vital

part. They acted through the whole, as if they really wiſhed the conſervation of the Jacobin power; as what might be more favourable than the lawful Government to the attainment of the petty objects they looked for. They always kept on the circumference; and the wider and remoter the circle was, the more eagerly they choſe as their ſphere of action. The plan they purſued, in it's nature, demanded great length of time. In it's execution they who went the neareſt way to work were obliged to cover an incredible extent of country. It left to the enemy every means of deſtroying this extended line of weakneſs. Ill ſucceſs in any part was ſure to defeat the effect of the whole. This is true of Auſtria. It is ſtill more true of England. On this falſe plan, even good fortune, by further weakening the victor, put him but the further off from his object.

As long as there was any appearance of ſucceſs, the ſpirit of aggrandizement, and conſequently the ſpirit of mutual jealouſy ſeized upon all the coaleſced Powers. Some ſought an acceſſion of territory at the expence of France, ſome at the expence of each other, ſome at the expence of third parties; and when the viciſſitude of diſaſter took it's turn, they found common diſtreſs a treacherous bond of faith and friendſhip.——*Regicide Peace.*

PEOPLE.

Amongst theſe nice, and therefore dangerous points of caſuiſtry, may be reckoned the queſtion ſo much agitated in the preſent hour—Whether, after the people have diſcharged themſelves of their original power by an habitual delegation, no occaſion can poſſibly occur which may juſtify their reſumption of it? This queſtion, in this latitude, is very hard to affirm or deny: but I am ſatisfied that no occaſion can juſtify ſuch a reſumption, which would not equally authorize a diſpenſation with any other moral

duty, perhaps with all of them together. However, if in general it be not eaſy to determine concerning the lawfulneſs of ſuch devious proceedings, which muſt be ever on the edge of crimes, it is far from difficult to foreſee the perilous conſequences of the reſuſcitation of ſuch a power in the people. The practical conſequences of any political tenet go a great way in deciding upon its value. Political problems do not primarily concern truth or falſehood. They relate to good or evil. What in the reſult is likely to produce evil, is politically falſe: that which is productive of good, politically is true.

Believing it therefore a queſtion at leaſt arduous in the theory, and in the practice very critical, it would become us to aſcertain, as well as we can, what form it is that our incantations are about to call up from darkneſs and the ſleep of ages. When the ſupreme authority of the people is in queſtion, before we attempt to extend or to confine it, we ought to fix in our minds, with ſome degree of diſtinctneſs, an idea of what it is we mean when we ſay the PEOPLE.

In a ſtate of *rude* nature there is no ſuch thing as a people. A number of men in themſelves have no collective capacity. The idea of a people is the idea of a corporation. It is wholly artificial; and made like all other legal fictions by common agreement. What the particular nature of that agreement was, is collected from the form into which the particular ſociety has been caſt. Any other is not *their* covenant. When men, therefore, break up the original compact or agreement which gives its corporate form and capacity to a ſtate, they are no longer a people; they have no longer a corporate exiſtence; they have no longer a legal coactive force to bind within, nor a claim to be recognized abroad. They are a number of vague looſe individuals, and nothing more. With them all is to begin again. Alas! they little know how many a weary ſtep is to be taken

before they can form themſelves into a maſs, which has a true politic perſonality.

We hear much from men, who have not acquired their hardineſs of aſſertion from the profundity of their thinking, about the omnipotence of a *majority*, in ſuch a diſſolution of an antient ſociety as hath taken place in France. But amongſt men ſo diſbanded, there can be no ſuch thing as majority or minority; or power in any one perſon to bind another. The power of acting by a majority, which the gentlemen theoriſts ſeem to aſſume ſo readily, after they have violated the contract out of which it has ariſen, (if at all it exiſted) muſt be grounded on two aſſumptions; firſt, that of an incorporation produced by unanimity; and ſecondly, an unanimous agreement, that the act of a mere majority (ſay of one) ſhall paſs with them and with others as the act of the whole.

We are ſo little affected by things which are habitual, that we conſider this idea of the deciſion of a *majority* as if it were a law of our original nature: but ſuch conſtructive whole, reſiding in a part only, is one of the moſt violent fictions of poſitive law, that ever has been or can be made on the principles of artificial incorporation. Out of civil ſociety nature knows nothing of it; nor are men, even when arranged according to civil order, otherwiſe than by very long training, brought at all to ſubmit to it. The mind is brought far more eaſily to acquieſce in the proceedings of one man, or a few, who act under a general procuration for the ſtate, than in the vote of a victorious majority in councils in which every man has his ſhare in the deliberation. For there the beaten party are exaſperated and ſoured by the previous contention, and mortified by the concluſive defeat. This mode of deciſion, where wills may be ſo nearly equal, where, according to circumſtances, the ſmaller number may be the ſtronger force, and where apparent reaſon may be all upon one ſide,

and on the other little elſe than impetuous appetite; all this muſt be the reſult of a very particular and ſpecial convention, confirmed afterwards by long habits of obedience, by a ſort of diſcipline in ſociety, and by a ſtrong hand, veſted with ſtationary permanent power, to enforce this ſort of conſtructive general will. What organ it is that ſhall declare the corporate mind is ſo much a matter of poſitive arrangement, that ſeveral ſtates, for the validity of ſeveral of their acts, have required a proportion of voices much greater than that of a mere majority.—Theſe proportions are ſo entirely governed by convention, that in ſome caſes the minority decides. The laws in many countries to *condemn* require more than a mere majority; leſs than an equal number to *acquit*. In our judicial trials we require unanimity either to condemn or to abſolve. In ſome incorporations one man ſpeaks for the whole; in others, a few. Until the other day, in the conſtitution of Poland, unanimity was required to give validity to any act of their great national council or diet. This approaches much more nearly to rude nature than the inſtitutions of any other country. Such, indeed, every commonwealth muſt be, without a poſitive law to recognize in a certain number the will of the entire body.

If men diſſolve their ancient incorporation, in order to regenerate their community, in that ſtate of things each man has a right, if he pleaſes, to remain an individual. Any number of individuals, who can agree upon it, have an undoubted right to form themſelves into a ſtate apart and wholly independent. If any of theſe is forced into the fellowſhip of another, this is conqueſt and not compact. On every principle, which ſuppoſes ſociety to be in virtue of a free covenant, this compulſive incorporation muſt be null and void.

As a people can have no right to a corporate capacity without univerſal conſent, ſo neither have they

a right to hold exclusively any lands in the name and title of a corporation. On the scheme of the present rulers in our neighbouring country, regenerated as they are, they have no more right to the territory called France than I have. I have a right to pitch my tent in any unoccupied place I can find for it; and I may apply to my own maintenance any part of their unoccupied soil. I may purchase the house or vineyard of any individual proprietor who refuses his consent (and most proprietors have, as far as they dared, refused it) to the new incorporation. I stand in his independent place. Who are these insolent men calling themselves the French nation, that would monopolize this fair domain of nature? Is it because they speak a certain jargon? Is it their mode of chattering, to me unintelligible, that forms their title to my land? Who are they who claim by prescription and descent from certain gangs of banditti called Franks, and Burgundians, and Visigoths, of whom I may have never heard, and ninety-nine out of an hundred of themselves certainly never have heard; whilst at the very time they tell me, that prescription and long possession form no title to property? Who are they that presume to assert that the land which I purchased of the individual, a natural person, and not a fiction of state, belongs to them, who in the very capacity in which they make their claim can exist only as an imaginary being, and in virtue of the very prescription which they reject and disown? This mode of arguing might be pushed into all the detail, so as to leave no sort of doubt, that on their principles, and on the sort of footing on which they have thought proper to place themselves, the crowd of men, on the other side of the channel, who have the impudence to call themselves a people, can never be the lawful exclusive possessors of the soil. By what they call reasoning without prejudice, they leave not one stone upon another in the fabric of human society. They subvert all the authority which they hold, as well as

all that which they have deſtroyed.—*Appeal from the new to the old Whigs.*

PEOPLE.

Proſperity of the People.

No government ought to own that it exiſts for the purpoſe of checking the proſperity of its people, or that there is ſuch a principle involved in its policy.—*Two Letters to Gentlemen in Briſtol.*

PEOPLE AND GOVERNORS.

THE people have no intereſt in diſorder. When they do wrong, it is their error, and not their crime. But with the governing part of the ſtate it is far otherwiſe. They certainly may act ill by deſign, as well as by miſtake.—*Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents.*

PEOPLE.

THEY who ſtir up the people to improper deſires, whether of peace or war, will be condemned by themſelves. They who weakly yield to them will be condemned by hiſtory.——*Regicide Peace.*

PEOPLE.

Their Intereſt and Humours ought to be conſulted.

I would not only conſult the intereſt of the people, but I would chearfully gratify their humours. We are all a ſort of children, that muſt be ſoothed and managed. I think I am not auſtere or formal in my nature. I would bear, I would even myſelf play my part in, any innocent buffooneries to divert them. But I never will act the tyrant for their amuſement. If they will mix malice in their ſports, I ſhall never conſent to throw them any living, ſen-

tient, creature whatſoever, no not ſo much as a kitling, to torment.——*Speech previous to the Election at Briſtol.*

PEOPLE (PRIVILEGED.)

MANY are the collateral diſadvantages, amongſt a *privileged* people, which muſt attend on thoſe who have *no* privileges.——*Letter to Sir H. Langriſhe, M. P.*

POPULAR SPIRIT.

BUT whatever may be repreſented concerning the meanneſs of the popular ſpirit, I, (Burke) for one, do not think ſo deſperately of the Britiſh nation. Our minds are light, but they are not evil. We are dreadfully open to deluſion and to dejection, but we are capable of being animated and undeceived.——*Regicide Peace.*

PUBLIC MAN, HIS DUTY.

WHEN the public man omits to put himſelf in a ſituation of doing his duty with effect, it is an omiſſion that fruſtrates the purpoſes of his truſt, almoſt as much as if he had formally deſtroyed it. It is ſurely no very rational account of a man's life, that he has always acted right, but has taken ſpecial care to act in ſuch a manner that his endeavours could not poſſibly be productive of any conſequence.——*Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents.*

PUBLIC ESTATES.

ALL public eſtates which are more ſubſervient to the purpoſes of vexing, overawing, and influencing thoſe who hold under them, and to the expence of perception and management, than of benefit to the revenue, ought, upon every principle, both of revenue and of freedom, to be diſpoſed of.—*Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.*

PUBLIC.

I PERFECTLY agree with you, that times and circumſtances, conſidered with reference to the public, ought very much to govern our conduct; though I am far from ſlighting, when applied with diſcretion to thoſe circumſtances, general principles and maxims of policy.—*Letter to Sir H. Langriſhe, M. P.*

PUBLIC OFFICES.

ALL offices which bring more charge than proportional advantage to the ſtate; all offices which may be engrafted on others, uniting and ſimplifying their duties, ought, in the firſt caſe, to be taken away; and in the ſecond, to be conſolidated.

All ſuch offices ought to be aboliſhed as obſtruct the proſpect of the general ſuperintendant of finance; which deſtroy his ſuperintendancy, which diſable him from foreſeeing and providing for charges as they may occur; from preventing expence in its origin, checking it in its progreſs, or ſecuring its application to its proper purpoſes. A miniſter under whom expences can be made without his knowledge, can never ſay what it is that he can ſpend, or what it is that he can ſave.—*Oecon. Reform.*

POLITICIANS (VULGAR.)

THE condition of princes, and ſometimes of miniſters too, is to be pitied. The creatures of the deſk, and the creatures of favour had no reliſh for the principles of the manifeſtoes of the combined powers againſt France. They promiſed no governments, no regiments, no revenues from whence emoluments might ariſe, by perquiſite or by grant. In truth, the tribe of vulgar politicians are the loweſt of our ſpecies. There is no trade ſo vile and mechanical as government in their hands. Virtue is not

their habit. They are out of themſelves in any courſe of conduct recommended only by conſcience and glory. A large, liberal, and proſpective view of the intereſts of States paſſes with them for romance; and the principles that recommended it for the wanderings of a diſordered imagination. The calculators compute them out of their ſenſes. The jeſters and buffoons ſhame them out of every thing grand and elevated. Littleneſs in object and in means, to them appears ſoundneſs and ſobriety. They think there is nothing worth purſuit, but that which they can handle; which they can meaſure with a two foot rule; which they can tell upon ten fingers. ——*Regicide Peace.*

POLITICAL REASON DEFINED.

POLITICAL reaſon is a computing principle; adding, ſubtracting, multiplying, and dividing, morally and not metaphyſically, true moral denominations.—*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS.

IN their political arrangements, men have no right to put the well-being of the preſent generation wholly out of the queſtion. Perhaps the only moral truſt with any certainty in our hands, is the care of our own time. With regard to futurity, we are to treat it like a ward. We are not ſo to attempt an improvement of his fortune, as to put the capital of his eſtate to any hazard.—*Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.*

POLITICS (NEW SYSTEM.) (SEE RELIGION.)

THESE principles of internal, as well as external diviſion and coalition, are but juſt now extinguiſhed. But they who will examine into the true character and genius of ſome late events, muſt be ſatisfied that

other ſources of faction, combining parties among the inhabitants of different countries into one connexion, are opened, and that from theſe ſources are likely to ariſe effects full as important as thoſe which had formerly ariſen from the jarring intereſts of the religious ſects. The intention of the ſeveral actors in the change in France, is not a matter of doubt. It is very openly profeſſed.

In the modern world, before this time, there has been no inſtance of this ſpirit of general political faction, ſeparated from religion, pervading ſeveral countries, and forming a principle of union between the partizans in each. But the thing is not leſs in human nature. The ancient world has furniſhed a ſtrong and ſtriking inſtance of ſuch a ground for faction, full as powerful, and full as miſchievous as our ſpirit of religious ſyſtem had ever been, exciting in all the ſtates of Greece (European and Aſiatic) the moſt violent animoſities, and the moſt cruel and bloody perſecutions and proſcriptions. Theſe ancient factions in each commonwealth of Greece, connected themſelves with thoſe of the ſame deſcription in ſome other States; and ſecret cabals and public alliances were carried on and made, not upon a conformity of general political intereſts, but for the ſupport and aggrandizement of the two leading ſtates which headed the ariſtocratic and democratic factions. For, as in later times, the King of Spain was at the head of a catholic, and the King of Sweden of a proteſtant intereſt, France, (though catholic, acting ſubordinately to the latter,) in the like manner the Lacedemonians were every where at the head of the ariſtocratic intereſts, and the Athenians of the democratic. The two leading powers kept alive a conſtant cabal and conſpiracy in every ſtate, and the political dogmas concerning the conſtitution of a republic, were the great inſtruments by which theſe leading States choſe to aggrandize themſelves. Their choice was not unwiſe; becauſe the intereſt in opi-

nions (merely as opinions, and without any experimental reference to their effects) when once they take ſtrong hold of the mind, become the moſt operative of all intereſts, and indeed very often ſupercede every other.

I might further exemplify the poſſibility of a political ſentiment running through various ſtates and combining factions in them, from the hiſtory of the middle ages in the Guelfs and Ghibellines. Theſe were political factions originally in favour of the Emperor and the Pope, with no mixture of religious dogmas; or if any thing religiouſly doctrinal they had in them originally, it very ſoon diſappeared; as their firſt political objects diſappeared alſo, though the ſpirit remained. They became no more than names to diſtinguiſh factions; but they were not the leſs powerful in their operation, when they had no direct point of doctrine, either religious or civil, to aſſert. For a long time, however, thoſe factions gave no ſmall degree of influence to the foreign chiefs in every commonwealth in which they exiſted. I do not mean to purſue further the track of theſe parties; I allude to this part of hiſtory only, as it furniſhes an inſtance of that ſpecies of faction which broke the locality of public affections, and united deſcriptions of citizens more with ſtrangers than with their countrymen of different opinions.——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

PROTESTANT RELIGION.

We know, and what is better, we feel inwardly, that religion is the baſis of civil ſociety, and the ſource of all good and of all comfort*. In Eng-

* Sit igitur hoc ab initio perſuaſum civibus, dominos eſſe omnium rerum ac moderatores, deos; eaque, quæ gerantur, eorum geri vi, ditione, ac numine; eoſdemque optime de genere hominum mereri; et qualis quiſque ſit, quid agat, quid in ſe admittat, qua mente, qua pietate colat religiones intueri: piorum et impiorum habere rationem. His enim rebus imbutæ mentes haud ſane abhorrebunt ab utili et a vera ſententia. Cic. de Legibus, l. 2.

land we are ſo convinced of this, that there is no ruſt of ſuperſtition, with which the accumulated abſurdity of the human mind might have cruſted it over in the courſe of ages, that ninety-nine in an hundred of the people of England would not prefer to impiety. We ſhall never be ſuch fools as to call in an enemy to the ſubſtance of any ſyſtem to remove its corruptions, to ſupply its defects, or to perfect its conſtruction. If our religious tenets ſhould ever want a further elucidation, we ſhall not call on atheiſm to explain them. We ſhall not light up our temple from that unhallowed fire. It will be illuminated with other lights. It will be perfumed with other incenſe, than the infectious ſtuff which is imported by the ſmugglers of adulterated metaphyſics. If our eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment ſhould want a reviſion, it is not avarice or rapacity, public or private, that we ſhall employ for the audit, or receipt, or application of its conſecrated revenue.—Violently condemning neither the Greek nor the Armenian, nor, ſince heats are ſubſided, the Roman ſyſtem of religion, we prefer the Proteſtant; not becauſe we think it has leſs of the Chriſtian religion in it, but becauſe, in our judgment, it has more. We are proteſtants, not from indifference but from zeal.——*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

POPISH CLERGY.

A POPISH clergy, who are not reſtrained by the moſt auſtere ſubordination, will become a nuiſance, a real public grievance of the heavieſt kind, in any country that entertains them.—*Letter to a Peer of Ireland on the Penal Laws.*

PARSIMONY.

Mere Parſimony not Oeconomy.

MERE parſimony is not œconomy. It is ſeparable in theory from it; and in fact it may, or it may

not, be a *part* of œconomy, according to circumſtances. Expence, and great expence, may be an eſſential part in true œconomy. If parſimony were to be conſidered as one of the kinds of that virtue, there is, however, another and an higher œconomy. Œconomy is a diſtributive virtue, and conſiſts not in ſaving, but in ſelection. Parſimony requires no providence, no ſagacity, no powers of combination, no compariſon, no judgment. Meer inſtinct, and that not an inſtinct of the nobleſt kind, may produce this falſe œconomy in perfection. The other œconomy has larger views. It demands a diſcriminating judgment, and a firm ſagacious mind. It ſhuts one door to impudent importunity, only to open another, and a wider, to unpreſuming merit. If none but meritorious ſervice or real talent were to be rewarded, this nation has not wanted, and this nation will not want, the means of rewarding all the ſervice it ever will receive, and encouraging all the merit it ever will produce. No ſtate, ſince the foundation of ſociety, has been impoveriſhed by that ſpecies of profuſion.——*Letter to a Noble Lord.*

PROFESSORS OF ARTIFICIAL LAW. (SEE LAW.)

THE profeſſors of artificial law have always walked hand in hand with the profeſſors of artificial theology. As their end, in confounding the reaſon of man, and abridging his natural freedom, is exactly the ſame, they have adjuſted the means to that end in a way entirely ſimilar. The divine thunders out his *anathemas* with more noiſe and terror againſt the breach of one of his poſitive inſtitutions, or the neglect of ſome of his trivial forms, than againſt the neglect or breach of thoſe duties and commandments of natural religion, which by theſe forms and inſtitutions he pretends to enforce. The lawyer has his forms, and his poſitive inſtitutions too, and he adheres to them

with a veneration altogether as religious. The worſt cauſe cannot be ſo prejudicial to the litigant, as his advocate's or attorney's ignorance or neglect of theſe forms. A law-ſuit is like an ill-managed diſpute, in which the firſt object is ſoon out of ſight, and the parties end upon a matter wholly foreign to that on which they began. In a law-ſuit the queſtion is, who has a right to a certain houſe or farm? And this queſtion is daily determined, not upon the evidences of the right, but upon the obſervance or neglect of ſome forms of words in uſe with the gentlemen of the robe, about which there is even amongſt themſelves ſuch a diſagreement, that the moſt experienced veterans in the profeſſion can never be poſitively aſſured that they are not miſtaken.

Let us expoſtulate with theſe learned ſages, theſe prieſts of the ſacred temple of juſtice. Are we judges of our own property? By no means. You then, who are initiated into the myſteries of the blindfold goddeſs, inform me whether I have a right to eat the bread I have earned by the hazard of my life, or the ſweat of my brow? The grave doctor anſwers me in the affirmative. The reverend ſerjeant replies in the negative; the learned barriſter reaſons upon one ſide and upon the other, and concludes nothing. What ſhall I do? An antagoniſt ſtarts up and preſſes me hard. I enter the field, and retain theſe three perſons to defend my cauſe. My cauſe, which two farmers from the plough could have decided in half an hour, takes the court twenty years. I am, however, at the end of my labour, and have, in reward for all my toil and vexation, a judgment in my favour. But hold—a ſagacious commander, in the adverſary's army has found a flaw in the proceeding. My triumph is turned into mourning. I have uſed *or* inſtead of *and*, or ſome miſtake, ſmall in appearance, but dreadful in its conſequences, and have the whole of my ſucceſs quaſhed in a writ of error. I remove my ſuit; I ſhift from court to

court; I fly from equity to law, and from law to equity; equal uncertainty attends me every where: and a miſtake in which I had no ſhare, decides at once upon my liberty and property, ſending me from the court to a priſon, and adjudging my family to beggary and famine. I am innocent, gentlemen, of the darkneſs and uncertainty of your ſcience. I never darkened it with abſurd and contradictory notions, nor confounded it with chicane and ſophiſtry. You have excluded me from my having any ſhare in the conduct of my own cauſe; the ſcience was too deep for me; I acknowledged it; but it was too deep even for yourſelves; you have made the way ſo intricate, that you are yourſelves loſt in it. You err, and you puniſh me for your errors.—*Vindication of Natural Society.*

PRUSSIA AND THE EMPEROR.

If the two great leading Powers of Germany do not regard this danger*, (as apparently they do not) in the light in which it preſents itſelf ſo naturally, it is becauſe they are powers too great to have a ſocial intereſt. That ſort of intereſt belongs only to thoſe, whoſe ſtate of weakneſs or mediocrity is ſuch, as to give them greater cauſe of apprehenſion from what may deſtroy them, than of hope from any thing by which they may be aggrandized.

As long as thoſe two Princes are at variance, ſo long the liberties of Germany are ſafe. But if ever they ſhould ſo far underſtand one another as to be perſuaded that they have a more direct and more certainly defined intereſt in a proportioned mutual aggrandizement than in a reciprocal reduction, that is, if they come to think that they are more likely to be enriched by a diviſion of ſpoil, than to be rendered ſecure by keeping to the old policy of pre-

* French Revolution.

venting others from being ſpoiled by either of them, from that moment the liberties of Germany are no more.

That a junction of two in ſuch a ſcheme is neither impoſſible nor improbable, is evident from the partition of Poland in 1773, which was effected by ſuch a junction as made the interpoſition of other nations to prevent it, not eaſy. Their circumſtances, at that time, hindered any other three ſtates, or indeed any two, from taking meaſures in common to prevent it, though France was at that time an exiſting power, and had not yet learned to act upon a ſyſtem of politics of her own invention. The geographical poſition of Poland was a great obſtacle to any movements of France in oppoſition to this, at that time unparalleled league. To my certain knowledge, if Great Britain had, at that time, been willing to concur in preventing the execution of a project ſo dangerous in the example, even exhauſted as France then was by the preceding war, and under a lazy and unenterpriſing Prince, ſhe would have at every riſque taken an active part in this buſineſs. But a languor with regard to ſo remote an intereſt, and the principles and paſſions which were then ſtrongly at work at home, were the cauſes why Great Britain would not give France any encouragement in ſuch an enterprize. At that time, however, and with regard to that object, in my opinion, Great Britain and France had a common intereſt.

But the poſition of Germany is not like that of Poland, with regard to France, either for good or for evil. If a conjunction between Pruſſia and the Emperor ſhould be formed for the purpoſe of ſecularizing and rendering hereditary the Eccleſiaſtical Electorates and the Biſhopric of Munſter, for ſettling two of them on the children of the Emperor, and uniting Cologne and Munſter to the dominions of the King of Pruſſia on the Rhine; or if any other project of mutual aggrandizement ſhould be in prof-

pect, and that to facilitate ſuch a ſcheme, the modern French ſhould be permitted and encouraged to ſhake the internal and external ſecurity of theſe Eccleſiaſtical Electorates, Great Britain is ſo ſituated that ſhe could not, with any effect, ſet herſelf in oppoſition to ſuch a deſign. Her principal arm, her marine, could here be of no ſort of uſe.——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

PITY.

PITY is a paſſion founded on love.—*Sublime and Beautiful.*

PRECEDENTS.

I ſhall never quit precedents where I find them applicable.—*Oecon. Reform.*

PRESCRIPTION (THE SACRED RULES OF).

THE Crown has conſidered me after long ſervice: the Crown has paid the Duke of Bedford by advance. He has had a long credit for any ſervice which he may perform hereafter. He is ſecure, and long may he be ſecure, in his advance, whether he performs any ſervices or not. But let him take care how he endangers the ſafety of that conſtitution which ſecures his own utility, or his own inſignificance; or how he diſcourages thoſe who take up, even puny arms, to defend an order of things, which, like the ſun of Heaven, ſhines alike on the uſeful and the worthleſs. His grants are engrafted on the public law of Europe, covered with the awful hoar of innumerable ages. They are guarded by the ſacred rules of preſcription, found in that full treaſury of juriſprudence from which the jejuneneſs and penury of our municipal law has, by degrees, been enriched and ſtrengthened. This preſcription I had my ſhare (a very full ſhare) in

bringing to its perfection*. The Duke of Bedford will ſtand as long as preſcriptive law endures; as long as the great ſtable laws of property, common to us with all civilized nations, are kept in their integrity, and without the ſmalleſt intermixture of the laws, maxims, principles, or precedents of the grand revolution. They are ſecure againſt all changes but one. The whole revolutionary ſyſtem, inſtitutes, digeſt, code, novels, text, gloſs, comment, are not only not the ſame, but they are the very reverſe, and the reverſe fundamentally, of all the laws on which civil life has hitherto been upheld in all the governments of the world. The learned profeſſors of the Rights of Man regard preſcription, not as a title to bar all claim, ſet up againſt old poſſeſſion, but they look on preſcription as itſelf a bar againſt the poſſeſſor and proprietor. They hold an immemorial poſſeſſion to be no more than a long continued, and therefore an aggravated injuſtice.

Such are *their* ideas; ſuch *their* religion, and ſuch *their* law. But as to *our* country and *our* race, as long as the well-compacted ſtructure of our church and ſtate, the ſanctuary, the holy of holies of that ancient law, defended by reverence, defended by power, a fortreſs at once and a temple †, ſhall ſtand inviolate on the brow of the Britiſh Sion, as long as the Britiſh Monarchy, not more limited than fenced by the orders of the State, ſhall, like the proud Keep of Windſor, riſing in the majeſty of proportion, and girt with the double belt of its kindred and coeval towers, as long as this awful ſtructure ſhall overſee and guard the ſubjected land, ſo long the mounds and dykes of the low, fat, Bedford level will have nothing to fear from all the pickaxes of all the levellers of France. As long as our ſovereign Lord the King, and his faithful ſub-

* Sir George Saville's Act, called the *Nullum Tempus* Act.

† *Templum in modum arcis.* Tacitus of the Temple of Jeruſalem.

jects, the Lords and Commons of this realm, the triple cord, which no man can break; the ſolemn, ſworn, conſtitutional frank-pledge of this nation; the firm guarantees of each others being, and each others rights; the joint and ſeveral ſecurities, each in its place and order, for every kind and every quality, of property and of dignity; as long as theſe endure, ſo long the Duke of Bedford is ſafe; and we are all ſafe together; the high from the blights of envy and the ſpoliations of rapacity; the low from the iron hand of oppreſſion and the inſolent ſpurn of contempt. Amen! and ſo be it: and ſo it will be,

Dum domus Æneæ Capitoli immobile axum
Accolet; imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.

But if the rude inroad of Gallic tumult, with its ſophiſtical Rights of Man, to falſify the account, and its ſword as a makeweight to throw into the ſcale, ſhall be introduced into our city by a miſguided populace, ſet on by proud great men, themſelves blinded and intoxicated by a frantic ambition, we ſhall, all of us, periſh and be overwhelmed in a common ruin. If a great ſtorm blow on our coaſt, it will caſt the whales on the ſtrand as well as the periwinkles.—*Letter to a noble Lord.*

PARTY, (FRENCH) HOW COMPOSED.

In the mean time a ſyſtem of French conſpiracy is gaining ground in every country. This ſyſtem happening to be founded on principles the moſt deluſive indeed, but the moſt flattering to the natural propenſities of the unthinking multitude, and to the ſpeculations of all thoſe who think, without thinking very profoundly, muſt daily extend it's influence. A predominant inclination towards it appears in all thoſe who have no religion, when otherwiſe their diſpoſition leads them to be advocates even for deſpotiſm

Hence Hume, though I cannot ſay that he does not throw out ſome expreſſions of diſapprobation on the proceedings of the levellers in the reign of Richard the Second, yet affirms that the doctrines of *John Ball* were "conformable to the primitive ideas of primitive equality, which *are engraven on the hearts of all men.*"——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

PEACE.

Not to be too eagerly ſought.

A peace too eagerly ſought, is not always the ſooner obtained; and when obtained, it never can be every thing we wiſh. The diſcovery of vehement wiſhes generally fruſtrates their attainment; and your adverſary has gained a great advantage over you when he finds you impatient to conclude a treaty. There is in reſerve, not only ſomething of dignity, but a great deal of prudence too. A ſort of courage belongs to negociation as well as to operations of the field. A negociator muſt ſeem willing to hazard all, if he wiſhes to ſecure any material point.——*Regicide Peace.*

PRESERVATION (SELF.)

THE paſſions belonging to ſelf-preſervation, are the ſtrongeſt of all the paſſions.——*Ibid.*

PRACTICABILITY.

THOSE things which are not practicable, are not deſirable. There is nothing in the world really beneficial, that does not lie within the reach of an informed underſtanding, and a well-directed purſuit. There is nothing that God has judged good for us, that he has not given us the means to accompliſh, both

in the natural and the moral world. If we cry, like children for the moon, like children we muſt cry on. ——*Oecon. Reform.*

PHYSICAL CAUSES. (SEE TASTE.)

By looking into phyſical cauſes, our minds are opened and enlarged; and in this purſuit, whether we take or whether we loſe our game, the chace is certainly of ſervice. Cicero, true as he was to the academic philoſophy, and conſequently led to reject the certainty of phyſical, as of every other kind of knowledge, yet freely confeſſes its great importance to the human underſtanding; "*Eſt animorum ingeniorumque noſtrorum naturale quoddam quaſi pabulum conſideratio contemplatioque naturæ.*" If we can direct the lights we derive from ſuch exalted ſpeculations, upon the humbler field of the imagination, whilſt we inveſtigate the ſprings, and trace the courſes of our paſſions, we may not only communicate to the taſte a ſort of philoſophical ſolidity, but we may reflect back on the ſeverer ſciences ſome of the graces and elegances of taſte, without which the greateſt proficiency in thoſe ſciences will always have the appearance of ſomething illiberal.——*Sublime and Beautiful.*

PARALLELOGRAM.

The form of a croſs uſed in ſome churches ſeems to me not ſo eligible as the parallelogram of the ancients; at leaſt, I imagine it is not ſo proper for the outſide.——*Ibid.*

QUALIFICATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT.

There is no qualification for Government, but virtue and wiſdom, actual or preſumptive; wherever they are actually found, they have, in whatever ſtate, condition, profeſſion, or trade, the paſſport of Heaven to human place and honour.——*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

REVOLUTION (FRENCH.)

State of France in 1793.

THE State of France is perfectly ſimple. It conſiſts of but two deſcriptions—the Oppreſſors and the Oppreſſed.

The firſt have the whole authority of the State in their hands, all the arms, all the revenues of the public, all the confiſcations of individuals and corporations. They have taken the lower ſort from their occupations, and have put them into pay, that they may form them into a body of Janiſaries to overrule and awe property. The heads of theſe wretches they never ſuffer to cool. They ſupply them with a food for fury varied by the day—beſides the ſenſual ſtate of intoxication from which they are rarely free. They have made the prieſts and people formally abjure the divinity: they have eſtranged them from every civil, moral, and ſocial, or even natural and inſtinctive ſentiment, habit, and practice, and have rendered them ſyſtematically ſavages, to make it impoſſible for them to be the inſtruments of any ſober and virtuous arrangement, or to be reconciled to any ſtate of order, under any name whatſoever.

The other deſcription, *the Oppreſſed*—are people of ſome property; they are the ſmall reliques of the perſecuted Landed Intereſt; they are the burghers and the farmers. By the very circumſtance of their being of ſome property, though numerous in ſome points of view, they cannot be very conſiderable as a *number*. In cities the nature of their occupations renders them domeſtic and feeble; in the country it confines them to their farm for ſubſiſtence. The National Guards are all changed and reformed. Every thing ſuſpicious in the deſcription of which they were compoſed, is rigouroufly diſarmed. Com-

mittees, called of Vigilance and Safety, are every where formed; a moſt ſevere and ſcrutinizing inquiſition, far more rigid than any thing ever known or imagined. Two perſons cannot meet and confer without hazard to their liberty, and even to their lives. Numbers ſcarcely credible have been executed, and their property confiſcated. At Paris, and in moſt other towns, the bread they buy is a daily dole—which they cannot obtain without a daily ticket delivered to them by their Maſters. Multitudes of all ages and ſexes are actually impriſoned. I have reaſon to believe, that in France there are not, for various ſtate crimes, ſo few as twenty thouſand* actually in jail—a large portion of people of property in any State. If a father of a family ſhould ſhew any diſpoſitions to reſiſt, or to withdraw himſelf from their power, his wife and children are cruelly to anſwer for it. It is by means of theſe hoſtages, that they keep the troops, which they force by maſſes (as they call it) into the field—true to their colours.

Another of their reſources is not to be forgotten. —They have lately found a way of giving a ſort of ubiquity to the ſupreme Sovereign Authority, which no Monarch has been able yet to give to any repreſentation of his.

The Commiſſioners of the National Convention, who are the Members of the Convention itſelf, and really exerciſe all its powers, make continual circuits through every province, and viſits to every army. There they ſuperſede all the ordinary authorities, civil and military, and change and alter every thing at their pleaſure. So that in effect, no deliberative capacity exiſts in any portion of the inhabitants.—— *Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1793.

* Some accounts make them five times as many.

REVOLUTION (FRENCH).

Oppreſſive, but ſpirited and daring.

FRANCE differs eſſentially from all thoſe Governments which are formed without ſyſtem, which exiſt by habit, and which are confuſed with the multitude, and with the complexity of their purſuits. What now ſtands as government in France, is ſtruck out at a heat. The deſign is wicked, immoral, impious, oppreſſive; but it is ſpirited and daring: it is ſyſtematic; it is ſimple in its principle; it has unity and conſiſtency in perfection. In that country, entirely to cut off a branch of commerce, to extinguiſh a manufacture, to deſtroy the circulation of money, to violate credit, to ſuſpend the courſe of agriculture, even to burn a city, or to lay waſte a province of their own, does not coſt them a moment's anxiety. To them, the will, the wiſh, the want, the liberty, the toil, the blood of individuals is as nothing. Individuality is left out of their ſcheme of government. The ſtate is all in all. Every thing is referred to the production of force; afterwards every thing is truſted to the uſe of it. It is military in its principle, in its maxims, in its ſpirit, and in all its movements. The ſtate has dominion and conqueſt for its ſole objects; dominion over minds by proſelytiſm, over bodies by arms.

Thus conſtituted with an immenſe body of natural means, which are leſſened in their amount only to be increaſed in their effect, France has ſince the accompliſhment of the revolution, a complete unity in its direction. It has deſtroyed every reſource of the ſtate, which depends upon opinion and the good will of individuals. The riches of convention diſappear. The advantages of nature in ſome conſiderable meaſure remain; the command over them is complete and abſolute. We go about aſking when aſſignats will expire, and laugh at the laſt price of them: but what ſignifies the fate of theſe tickets of deſpotiſm?

The deſpotiſm will find deſpotic means of ſupply. They have found the ſhort cut to the productions of Nature, while others in purſuit of them are obliged to wind through the labyrinth of artificial ſociety. They ſeize upon the fruit of the labour; they ſeize upon the labourer himſelf. The natural means of France are ſtill great. They are very materially leſſened, I admit; but the power over them is increaſed. Were France but half what it is in population, in compactneſs, in applicability of its force, ſituated as it is, and being what it is, it would be too ſtrong for moſt of the States of Europe, conſtituted as they are, and proceeding as they proceed. Would it be wiſe to eſtimate what the world of Europe, as well as the world of Aſia, had to dread from Jinghiz Khan, upon a contemplation of the reſources of the cold and barren ſpot in the remoteſt Tartary, from whence firſt iſſued that ſcourge of the human race? Ought we to judge from the exciſe and ſtamp duties of the rocks, or from the paper circulation of the ſands of Arabia, the power by which Mahomet and his tribes laid hold at once on the two moſt powerful empires of the world; beat one of them totally to the ground, broke to pieces the other, and, in not much longer ſpace of time than I have lived, overturned governments, laws, manners, religion, and extended an empire from Indus to the Pyrennees.

Material reſources never have ſupplied, nor ever can ſupply the want of unity in deſign and conſtancy in purſuit. But unity in deſign, and perſeverance, and boldneſs in purſuit, have never wanted reſources, and never will. We have not conſidered as we ought the dreadful energy of a State, in which the property has nothing to do with the Government. Reflect, my dear Sir, reflect again and again on a Government, in which the property is in ſubjection, and where nothing rules but the minds of deſperate men. The condition of a commonwealth not governed by its property, was a combination of things,

which the learned and ingenious ſpeculator Harrington, who has toſſed about ſociety into all forms, never could imagine to be poſſible. We have ſeen it; the world has felt it; and if the world will ſhut their eyes to this ſtate of things, they will feel it more. The rulers there have found their reſources in crimes. The diſcovery is dreadful, the mine exhauſtleſs. They have every thing to gain, and they have nothing to loſe. They have a boundleſs inheritance in hope; and there is no medium for them betwixt the higheſt elevation, and death with infamy. Never can thoſe, who, from the miſerable ſervitude of the deſk have been raiſed to empire, again ſubmit to the bondage of a ſtarving bureau, or the profit of copying muſic, or writing plaidoyers by the ſheet. It has made me often ſmile in bitterneſs, when I heard talk of an indemnity to ſuch men, provided they returned to their allegiance.

From all this, what is my inference? It is, that this new ſyſtem of robbery in France cannot be rendered ſafe by any art, or any means. That it *muſt* be deſtroyed, or that it will deſtroy all Europe. That by ſome means or other the force oppoſed to her ſhould be made to bear, in a contrary direction, ſome analogy and reſemblance to the force and ſpirit ſhe employs.——*Regicide Peace.*

REVOLUTION (FRENCH.)

Difference between this Revolution and others.

THERE have been many internal revolutions in the government of countries, both as to perſons and forms, in which the neighbouring ſtates have had little or no concern. Whatever the government might be, with reſpect to theſe perſons and theſe forms, the ſtationary intereſts of the nation concerned have moſt commonly influenced the new governments in the ſame manner in which they influenced the old;

and the revolution turning on matter of local grievance or of local accommodation, did not extend beyond its territory.

The preſent revolution in France ſeems to me to be quite of another character and deſcription; and to bear little reſemblance or analogy to any of thoſe which have been brought about in Europe upon principles merely political. *It is a revolution of doctrine and theoretic dogma.* It has a much greater reſemblance to thoſe changes which have been made upon religious grounds, in which a ſpirit of proſelytiſm makes an eſſential part. ——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

REVOLUTION (FRENCH).

France not to be encountered as a State, but as a Faction.

My ideas and my principles led me, in this conteſt, to encounter France, not as a State, but as a Faction. The vaſt territorial extent of that country, its immenſe population, its riches of production, its riches of commerce and convention, the whole aggregate maſs of what, in ordinary caſes, conſtitutes the force of a ſtate, to me were but objects of ſecondary conſideration. They might be balanced; and they have been often more than balanced. Great as theſe things are, they are not what make the faction formidable. It is the faction that makes them truly dreadful. That faction is the evil ſpirit that poſſeſſes the body of France; that informs it as a ſoul; that ſtamps upon its ambition, and upon all its purſuits, a characteriſtic mark, which ſtrongly diſtinguiſhes them from the ſame general paſſions, and the ſame general views, in other men and in other communities. It is that ſpirit which inſpires into them a new, a pernicious, a deſolating activity. Conſtituted as France was ten years ago, it was not in that France to ſhake, to ſhatter, and to overwhelm Europe in the manner that we behold. A ſure deſtruction impends over

thoſe, infatuated princes, who, in the conflict with this new and unheard-of power, proceeds as if they were engaged in a war that bore a reſemblance to their former conteſts; or that they can make peace in the ſpirit of their former arrangements of pacification. Here the beaten path is the very reverſe of the ſafe road.—*Regicide Peace.*

REVOLUTION (FRENCH) THE OBJECT OF.

THE revolution in France had the relation of France to other nations as one of its principal objects. The changes made by that revolution were not the better to accommodate her to the old and uſual relations, but to produce new ones. The revolution was made, not to make France free, but to make her formidable; not to make her a neighbour, but a miſtreſs; not to make her more obſervant of laws, but to put her in a condition to impoſe them. To make France truly formidable, it was neceſſary that France ſhould be new modelled. They who have not followed the train of the late proceedings, have been led by deceitful repreſentations (which deceit made a part in the plan) to conceive that this totally new model of a ſtate, in which nothing eſcaped a change, was made with a view to its internal relations only.—*Regicide Peace.*

REVOLUTION (FRENCH)

Contraſt between the Revolution in England in 1688, *and that in France* 1789.

IN truth, the circumſtances of our revolution (as it is called) and that of France are juſt the reverſe of each other in almoſt every particular, and in the whole ſpirit of the tranſaction. With us it was the caſe of a legal monarch attempting arbitrary power—in France it is the caſe of an arbitrary monarch, beginning, from whatever cauſe, to legalize his autho-

rity. The one was to be reſiſted, the other was to be managed and directed; but in neither caſe was the order of the ſtate to be changed, leſt government might be ruined, which ought only to be corrected and legalized. With us we got rid of the man, and preſerved the conſtituent parts of the ſtate. There they get rid of the conſtituent parts of the ſtate, and keep the man. What we did was in truth and ſubſtance, and in a conſtitutional light, a revolution, not made, but prevented. We took ſolid ſecurities; we ſettled doubtful queſtions; we corrected anomalies in our law. In the ſtable fundamental parts of our conſtitution we made no revolution; no, nor any alteration at all. We did not impair the monarchy. Perhaps it might be ſhewn that we ſtrengthened it very conſiderably. The nation kept the ſame ranks, the ſame orders, the ſame privileges, the ſame franchiſes, the ſame rules for property, the ſame ſubordinations, the ſame order in the law, in the revenue, and in the magiſtracy; the ſame lords, the ſame commons, the ſame corporations, the ſame electors.

The church was not impaired. Her eſtates, her majeſty, her ſplendor, her orders and gradations continued the ſame. She was preſerved in her full efficiency, and cleared only of a certain intolerance, which was her weakneſs and diſgrace. The church and the ſtate were the ſame after the revolution that they were before, but better ſecured in every part.

Was little done becauſe a revolution was not made in the conſtitution? No! Every thing was done; becauſe we commenced with reparation not with ruin. Accordingly the ſtate flouriſhed. Inſtead of lying as dead, in a ſort of trance, or expoſed as ſome others, in an epileptic fit, to the pity or deriſion of the world, for her wild, ridiculous, convulſive movements, impotent to every purpoſe but that of daſhing out her brains againſt the pavement, Great Britain roſe above the ſtandard, even of her former ſelf. An æra of a more improved domeſtic proſperity then commenced,

and ſtill continues, not only unimpaired, but growing, under the waſting hand of time. All the energies of the country were awakened. England never preſented a firmer countenance, or a more vigorous arm, to all her enemies, and to all her rivals. Europe under her reſpired and revived. Every where ſhe appeared as the protector, aſſertor, or avenger, of liberty. A war was made and ſupported againſt fortune itſelf. The treaty of Ryſwick, which firſt limited the power of France, was ſoon after made: the grand alliance very ſhortly followed, which ſhook to the foundations the dreadful power which menaced the independence of mankind. The ſtates of Europe lay happy under the ſhade of a great and free monarchy, which knew how to be great without endangering its own peace at home, or the internal or external peace of any of its neighbours.—*Speech on the Army Eſtimates in* 1790.

REVOLUTION, (FRENCH.)

Partizans of the French Syſtem.

THIS ſyſtem, (the French) as it has been firſt realized, dogmatically, as well as practically, in France, makes France the natural head of all factions formed on a ſimilar principle, whenever they may prevail, as much as Athens was the head and ſettled ally of all democratic factions, wherever they exiſted. The other ſyſtem has no head.

This ſyſtem has very many partizans in every country in Europe, but particularly in England, where they are already formed into a body, comprehending moſt of the diſſenters of the three leading denominations; to theſe are readily aggregated all who are diſſenters in character, temper, and diſpoſition, though not belonging to any of their congregations—that is, all the reſtleſs people who reſemble them, of all ranks and all parties—whigs, and even

tories—the whole race of half bred ſpeculators;—all the atheiſts, deiſts, and ſocinians;—all thoſe who hate the clergy, and envy the nobility;—a good many among the monied people;—the Eaſt Indians almoſt to a man, who cannot bear to find that their preſent importance does not bear a proportion to their wealth. Theſe latter have united themſelves into one great, and in my opinion, formidable club*, which, though now quiet, may be brought into action with conſiderable unanimity and force.

Formerly few, except the ambitious great, or the deſperate and indigent, were to be feared as inſtruments in revolutions. What has happened in France teaches us, with many other things, that there are more cauſes than have commonly been taken into our conſideration, by which government may be ſubverted. The monied men, merchants, principal tradeſmen, and men of letters (hitherto generally thought the peaceable and even timid part of ſociety) are the chief actors in the French Revolution. But the fact is, that as money increaſes and circulates, and as the circulation of news, in politics and letters, becomes more and more diffuſed, the perſons who diffuſe this money, and this intelligence, become more and more important. This was not long undiſcovered. Views of *ambition* were in France, for the firſt time, preſented to theſe claſſes of men. Objects in the ſtate, in the army, in the ſyſtem of civil offices of every kind. Their eyes were dazzled with this new proſpect. They were, as it were, electrified and made to loſe the natural ſpirit of their ſituation. A bribe, great without example in the hiſtory of the world, was held out to them—the whole government of a very large kingdom.

There are ſeveral who are perſuaded that the ſame thing cannot happen in England, becauſe here, (they

* Originally called the Bengal club, but ſince opened to perſons from the other preſidencies, for the purpoſe of conſolidating the whole Indian intereſt.

ſay) the occupations of merchants, tradeſmen, and manufacturers, are not held as degrading ſituations. I once thought that the low eſtimation in which commerce was held in France, might be reckoned among the cauſes of the late revolution; and I am ſtill of opinion, that the excluſive ſpirit of the French nobility, did irritate the wealthy of other claſſes. But I found long ſince, that perſons in trade and buſineſs were by no means deſpiſed in France in the manner I had been taught to believe. As to men of letters, they were ſo far from being deſpiſed or neglected, that there was no country perhaps in the univerſe, in which they were ſo highly eſteemed, courted, careſſed, and even feared; tradeſmen naturally were not ſo much ſought in ſociety (as not furniſhing ſo largely to the fund of converſation as they do to the revenues of the ſtate) but the latter deſcription got forward every day. M. Bailly, who made himſelf the popular mayor on the rebellion of the Baſtile, and is a pricipal actor in the revolt, before the change poſſeſſed a penſion or office under the crown, of ſix hundred pound Engliſh, a year, for that country, no contemptible proviſion: And this he obtained ſolely as a man of letters, and on no other title. As to the monied men—whilſt the monarchy continued, there is no doubt, that merely as ſuch, they did not enjoy the *privileges* of nobility, but nobility was of ſo eaſy an acquiſition, that it was the fault or neglect of all of that deſcription, who did not obtain its privileges, for their lives at leaſt in virtue of office. It attached under the royal government to an innumerable multitude of places, real and nominal, that were vendible; and ſuch nobility were as capable of every thing as their degree of influence or intereſt could make them, that is, as nobility of no conſiderable rank or conſequence. M. Neckar, ſo far from being a French gentleman, was not ſo much as a Frenchman born, and yet we all know the rank in

which he ſtood on the day of the meeting of the ſtates.

As to the mere matter of eſtimation of the mercantile or any other claſs, this is regulated by opinion and prejudice. In England a ſecurity againſt the envy of men in theſe claſſes, is not ſo very complete as we may imagine. We muſt not impoſe upon ourſelves. What inſtitutions and manners together had done in France, manners alone do here. It is the natural operation of things where there exiſts a crown, a court, ſplendid orders of knighthood, and an hereditary nobility;—where there exiſts a fixed, permanent, landed gentry, continued in greatneſs and opulence by the law of primogeniture, and by a protection given to family ſettlements; where there exiſts a ſtanding army and navy;—where there exiſts a church eſtabliſhment, which beſtows on learning and parts an intereſt combined with that of religion and the ſtate;—in a country where ſuch things exiſt, wealth, new in it's acquiſition, and precarious in it's duration, can never rank firſt, or even near the firſt; though wealth has it's natural weight, further, than as it is balanced and even preponderated amongſt us as amongſt other nations, by artificial inſtitutions and opinions growing out of them. At no period in the hiſtory of England have ſo few peers been taken out of trade or from families newly created by commerce. In no period has ſo ſmall a number of noble families entered into the counting-houſe. I can call to mind but one in all England, and his is of near fifty years ſtanding. Be that as it may, it appears plain to me from my beſt obſervation, that envy and ambition may by art, management and diſpoſition, be as much excited amongſt theſe deſcriptions of men in England, as in any other country; and that they are juſt as capable of acting a part in any great change.—*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

REVOLUTION.

Policy at the Revolution, different Syſtem purſued for ſome Years paſt. (*See* KING'S MEN, CABINET (DOUBLE.)

AT the revolution, the crown, deprived, for the ends of the revolution itſelf, of many prerogatives, was found too weak to ſtruggle againſt all the difficulties which preſſed ſo new and unſettled a government. The court was obliged therefore to delegate a part of its powers to men of ſuch intereſt as could ſupport, and of ſuch fidelity as would adhere to, its eſtabliſhment. Such men were able to draw in a greater number to a concurrence in the common defence. This connection, neceſſary at firſt, continued long after convenient; and properly conducted might indeed, in all ſituations, be an uſeful inſtrument of government. At the ſame time, through the intervention of men of popular weight and character, the people poſſeſſed a ſecurity for their juſt portion of importance in the ſtate. But as the title to the crown grew ſtronger by long poſſeſſion, and by the conſtant increaſe of its influence, theſe helps have of late ſeemed to certain perſons no better than incumbrances. The powerful managers for government were not ſufficiently ſubmiſſive to the pleaſure of the poſſeſſors of immediate and perſonal favour, ſometimes from a confidence in their own ſtrength, natural and acquired; ſometimes from a fear of offending their friends, and weakening that lead in the country, which gave them a conſideration independent of the court. Men acted as if the court could receive, as well as confer, an obligation. The influence of government, thus divided in appearance between the court and the leaders of parties, became in many caſes an acceſſion rather to the popular than to the royal ſcale; and ſome part of that influence which would otherwiſe have been poſſeſſed as in a ſort of mortmain and unalienable domain, returned again to the great ocean from whence it aroſe, and

[illegible] *This* method, there- [illegible] *men of* great natural intereſt, [illegible] *ration,* was viewed in a very [illegible] *true* lovers of abſolute mo- [illegible] *nature* of deſpotiſm to abhor, [illegible] *any* means but its own momentary [illegible] *to* annihilate all intermediate ſituations [illegible] *boundleſs* ſtrength on its own part, and total [illegible] on the part of the people.

To get rid of all this intermediate and independent importance, and *to ſecure to the court the unlimited and uncontrouled uſe of its own vaſt influence, under the ſole direction of its own private favour,* has for ſome years paſt been the great object of policy. If this were compaſſed, the influence of the crown muſt, of courſe, produce all the effects which the moſt ſanguine partizans of the court could poſſibly deſire. Government might then be carried on without any concurrence on the part of the peeple; without any attention to the dignity of the greater, or to the affections of the lower ſorts. A new project was therefore deviſed, by a certain ſet of intriguing men, totally different from the ſyſtem of adminiſtration which had prevailed ſince the acceſſion of the Houſe of Brunſwick. This project, I have heard, was firſt conceived by ſome perſons in the court of Frederick Prince of Wales.

The earlieſt attempt in the execution of this deſign was to ſet up for miniſter, a perſon, in rank indeed reſpectable, and very ample in fortune; but who, to the moment of this vaſt and ſudden elevation, was little known or conſidered in the kingdom. To him the whole nation was to yield an immediate and implicit ſubmiſſion. But whether it was for want of firmneſs to bear up againſt the firſt oppoſition; or that things were not yet fully ripened, or that this method was not found the moſt eligible; that idea was ſoon abandoned. The inſtrumental part of the project was a little altered, to accommo-

date it to the time, and to bring things more gradually and more ſurely to the one great end propoſed.

The firſt part of the reformed plan was to draw *a line which ſhould ſeparate the court from the miniſtry.* Hitherto theſe names had been looked upon as ſynonymous; but for the future, court and adminiſtration were to be conſidered as things totally diſtinct. By this operation, two ſyſtems of adminiſtration were to be formed; one which ſhould be in the real ſecret and confidence; the other merely oſtenſible, to perform the official and executory duties of government. The latter were alone to be reſponſible; whilſt the real adviſers, who enjoyed all the power, were effectually removed from all the danger.

Secondly, *A party under theſe leaders was to be formed in favour of the court againſt the miniſtry:* this party was to have a large ſhare in the emoluments of government, and to hold it totally ſeparate from, and independent of, oſtenſible adminiſtration.

The third point, and that on which the ſucceſs of the whole ſcheme ultimately depended, was *to bring parliament to an acquieſcence in this project.* Parliament was therefore to be taught, by degrees, a total indifference to the perſons, rank, influence, abilities, connexions, and character, of the miniſters of the crown. By means of a diſcipline, on which I ſhall ſay more hereafter, that body was to be habituated to the moſt oppoſite intereſts, and the moſt diſcordant politics. All connexions and dependencies among ſubjects were to be entirely diſſolved. As hitherto buſineſs had gone through the hands of leaders of Whigs or Tories, men of talents to conciliate the people, and engage to their confidence, now the method was to be altered; and the lead was to be given to men of no ſort of conſideration or credit in the country. This want of natural importance was to be their very title to delegated power. Members of parliament were to be hardened into an

inſenſibility to pride as well as to duty. Thoſe high and haughty ſentiments, which are the great ſupport of independence, were to be let down gradually. Point of honour and precedence were no more to be regarded in parliamentary decorum, than in a Turkiſh army. It was to be avowed as a conſtitutional maxim, that the king might appoint one of his footmen, or one of your footmen, for miniſter; and that he ought to be, and that he would be, as well followed as the firſt name for rank or wiſdom in the nation. Thus parliament was to look on, as if perfectly unconcerned, while a cabal of the cloſet and back-ſtairs was ſubſtituted in the place of a national adminiſtration.

With ſuch a degree of acquieſcence, any meaſure of any court might well be deemed thoroughly ſecure. The capital objects, and by much the moſt flattering characteriſtics of arbitrary power, would be obtained. Every thing would be drawn from its holdings in the country to the perſonal favour and inclination of the prince. This favour would be the ſole introduction to power, and the only tenure by which it was to be held: ſo that no perſon looking towards another, and all looking towards the court, it was impoſſible but that the motive which ſolely influenced every man's hopes muſt come in time to govern every man's conduct; till at laſt the ſervility became univerſal, in ſpite of the dead letter of any laws or inſtitutions whatſoever.

How it ſhould happen that any man could be tempted to venture upon ſuch a project of government, may, at firſt view, appear ſurpriſing. But the fact is, that opportunities very inviting to ſuch an attempt have offered; and the ſcheme itſelf was not deſtitute of ſome arguments not wholly unplauſible to recommend it.——*Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents.*

REVOLUTION, (JACOBIN.)

In all that we do, whether in the ſtruggle or after it, it is neceſſary that we ſhould conſtantly have in our eye, the nature and character of the enemy we have to contend with. The Jacobin revolution is carried on by men of no rank, of no conſideration, of wild ſavage minds, full of levity, arrogance and preſumption, without morals, without probity, without prudence. What have they then to ſupply their innumerable defects, and to make them terrible even to the firmeſt minds? *One* thing, and *one* thing only—but that one thing is worth a thouſand—they have *energy*. In France, all things being put into an univerſal ferment, in the decompoſition of ſociety, no man comes forward but by his ſpirit of enterprize and the vigour of his mind. If we meet this dreadful and potentous energy, reſtrained by no conſideration of God or man, that is always vigilant, always on the attack, that allows itſelf no repoſe, and ſuffers none to reſt an hour with impunity; if we meet this energy with poor common place proceeding, with trivial maxims, paltry old ſaws, with doubts, fears and ſuſpicions, with a languid, uncertain heſitation, with a formal, official ſpirit, which is turned aſide by every obſtacle from it's purpoſe, and which never ſees a difficulty but to yield to it, or at beſt to evade it; down we go to the bottom of the abyſs—and nothing ſhort of Omnipotence can ſave us. We muſt meet a vicious and diſtempered energy with a manly and rational vigour As virtue is limited in its reſources—we are doubly bound to uſe all that, in the circle drawn about us by our morals, we are able to command.—*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

REPUBLIC, (FRENCH.)

Impracticability of Reſiſtance to it.

It is true, amidſt all theſe turbulent means of ſecurity to their ſyſtem, very great diſcontents every

where prevail. But they only produce misery to those who nurse them at home, or exile beggary, and in the end, confiscation, to those who are so impatient as to remove from them. Each municipal republic has a committee, or something in the nature of a *Committee of Research.* In these petty republics the tyranny is so near it's object, that it becomes instantly acquainted with every act of every man. It stifles conspiracy in its very first movements. Their power is absolute and uncontroulable. No stand can be made against it. These republics are besides so disconnected, that very little intelligence of what happens in them is to be obtained, beyond their own bounds, except by the means of their clubs, who keep up a constant correspondence, and who give what colour they please to such facts as they choose to communicate out of the track of their correspondence. They all have some sort of communication, just as much or as little as they please, with the center. By this confinement of all communication to the ruling faction, any combination grounded on the abuses and discontents in one, scarcely can reach the other. There is not one man, in any one place, to head them. The old government had so much abstracted the nobility from the cultivation of provincial interest, that no man in France exists, whose power, credit, or consequence extends to two districts, or who is capable of uniting them in any design, even if any man could assemble ten men together, without being sure of a speedy lodging in a prison. One must not judge of the state of France by what has been observed elsewhere. It does not in the least resemble any other country. Analogical reasoning from history or from recent experience in other places is wholly delusive.——*Ibid.*

REPUBLICS (ANCIENT.)

The old Republican Legiſlators followed, with a ſolicitous accuracy, the moral Conditions and Properties of Men.

THE legiſlators who framed the antient republics knew that their buſineſs was too arduous to be accompliſhed with no better apparatus than the metaphyſics of an under-graduate, and the mathematics and arithmetic of an exciſeman. They had to do with men, and they were obliged to ſtudy human nature. They had to do with citizens, and they were obliged to ſtudy the effects of thoſe habits which are communicated by the circumſtances of civil life. They were ſenſible that the operation of this ſecond nature on the firſt produced a new combination; and thence aroſe many diverſities amongſt men, according to their birth, their education, their profeſſions, the periods of their lives, their reſidence in towns or in the country, their ſeveral ways of acquiring and of fixing property, and according to the quality of the property itſelf, all which rendered them as it were ſo many different ſpecies of animals. From hence they thought themſelves obliged to diſpoſe their citizens into ſuch claſſes, and to place them in ſuch ſituations in the ſtate as their peculiar habits might qualify them to fill, and to allot to them ſuch appropriated privileges as might ſecure to them what their ſpecific occaſions required, and which might furniſh to each deſcription ſuch force as might protect it in the conflict cauſed by the diverſity of intereſts, that muſt exiſt, and muſt contend in all complex ſociety: for the legiſlator would have been aſhamed, that the coarſe huſbandman ſhould well know how to aſſort and to uſe his ſheep, horſes, and oxen, and ſhould have enough of common ſenſe not to abſtract and equalize them all into animals, without providing for each kind an appropriate food, care, and employment; whilſt he, the œconomiſt, diſpoſer, and ſhepherd of his own kindred, ſubliming himſelf into an airy metaphyſician,

was reſolved to know nothing of his flocks but as men in general. It is for this reaſon that Monteſquieu obſerved very juſtly, that in their claſſification of the citizens, the great legiſlators of antiquity made the greateſt diſplay of their powers, and even ſoared above themſelves. It is here that your modern legiſlators have gone deep into the negative ſeries, and ſunk even below their own nothing. As the firſt ſort of legiſlators attended to the different kinds of citizens, and combined them into one commonwealth, the others, the metaphyſical and alchemiſtical legiſlators, (French) have taken the direct contrary courſe. They have attempted to confound all ſorts of citizens, as well as they could, into one homogeneous maſs; and then they divided this their amalgama into a number of incoherent republics. They reduce men to looſe counters merely for the ſake of ſimple telling, and not to figures whoſe power is to ariſe from their place in the table. The elements of their own metaphyſics might have taught them better leſſons. The troll of their categorical table might have informed them that there was ſomething elſe in the intellectual world beſides *ſubſtance* and *quantity*. They might learn from the catechiſm of metaphyſics that there were eight heads more *, in every complex deliberation, which they have never thought of, though theſe, of all the ten, are the ſubject on which the ſkill of man can operate any thing at all.

So far from this able diſpoſition of ſome of the old republican legiſlators, which follows with a ſolicitous accuracy, the moral conditions and propenſities of men, they have levelled and cruſhed together all the orders which they found, even under the coarſe unartificial arrangement of the monarchy, in which mode of government the claſſing of the citizens is not of ſo much importance as in a republic. It is true, however, that every ſuch claſſification, if properly or-

* Qualitas, Relatio, Actio, Paſſio, Ubi, Quando, Situs, Habitus.

dered, is good in all forms of government; and compoſes a ſtrong barrier againſt the exceſſes of deſpotiſm, as well as it is the neceſſary means of giving effect and permanence to a republic. For want of ſomething of this kind, if the preſent project of a republic ſhould fail, all ſecurities to a moderated freedom fail along with it; all the indirect reſtraints which mitigate deſpotiſm are removed; inſomuch that if monarchy ſhould ever again obtain an entire aſcendancy in France, under this or under any other dynaſty, it will probably be, if not voluntarily tempered at letting out, by the wiſe and virtuous counſels of the prince, the moſt completely arbitrary power that has ever appeared on earth. This is to play a moſt deſperate game.

The confuſion, which attends on all ſuch proceedings, they even declare to be one of their objects, and they hope to ſecure their conſtitution by a terror of a return of thoſe evils which attended their making it. "By this," ſay they, "its deſtruction will become "difficult to authority, which cannot break it up "without the entire diſorganization of the whole "ſtate." They preſume, that if this authority ſhould ever come to the ſame degree of power that they have acquired, it would make a more moderate and chaſtiſed uſe of it, and would piouſly tremble entirely to diſorganize the ſtate in the ſavage manner that they have done. They expect, from the virtues of returning deſpotiſm, the ſecurity which is to be enjoyed by the offspring of their popular vices.——*Reflexions on the Revolution in France.*

ROME AND ATHENS,

Analogy between.

Rome has a more venerable aſpect than Athens; and ſhe conducted her affairs, ſo far as related to the ruin and oppreſſion of the greateſt part of the

world, with greater wiſdom, and more uniformity. But the domeſtic œconomy of theſe two ſtates was nearly or altogether the ſame. An internal diſſention conſtantly tore to pieces the bowels of the Roman commonwealth. You find the ſame confuſion, the ſame factions which ſubſiſted at Athens, the ſame tumults, the ſame revolutions, and in fine, the ſame ſlavery. If perhaps their former condition did not deſerve that name altogether as well. All other republics were of the ſame character. Florence was a tranſcript of Athens. And the modern republics, as they approach more or leſs to the democratic form, partake more or leſs of the nature of thoſe which I have deſcribed.—*Vindication of Natural Society.*

ROME (CHURCH OF.)

IF mere diſſent from the Church of Rome be a merit, he that diſſents the moſt perfectly is the moſt meritorious. In many points we hold ſtrongly with that Church. He that diſſents throughout with that Church (Rome) will diſſent with the Church of England, and then it will be a part of his merit that he diſſents with ourſelves:—a whimſical ſpecies of merit for any ſet of men to eſtabliſh. We quarrel to extremity with thoſe, who we know agree with us in many things, but we are to be ſo malicious even in the principle of our friendſhips, that we are to cheriſh in our boſom thoſe who accord with us in nothing, becauſe whilſt they deſpiſe ourſelves, they abhor even more than we do, thoſe with whom we have ſome diſagreement.——*Letter to Sir H. Langriſhe, M. P.*

RIGOUR (EXTREME.)

An extreme rigour is ſure to arm every thing againſt it, and at length to relax into a ſupine neglect. —*Oecon. Reform.*

Timely Reform recommended. (*See* GRIEVANCES.)

Inſtead of a public officer in an abuſive department, whoſe province is an object to be regulated, he becomes a criminal who is to be puniſhed. I do moſt ſeriouſly put it to adminiſtration, to conſider the wiſdom of a timely reform. Early reformations are amicable arrangements with a friend in power; late reformations are terms impoſed upon a conquered enemy; early reformations are made in cool blood; late reformations are made under a ſtate of inflammation. In that ſtate of things the people behold in government nothing that is reſpectable. They ſee the abuſe, and they will ſee nothing elſe—They fall into the temper of a furious populace provoked at the diſorder of a houſe of ill fame; they never attempt to correct or regulate; they go to work by the ſhorteſt way—They abate the nuiſance, they pull down the houſe.

This is my opinion with regard to the true intereſt of government. But as it is the intereſt of government that reformation ſhould be early, it is the intereſt of the people that it ſhould be temperate. It is their intereſt, becauſe a temperate reform is permanent; and becauſe it has a principle of growth. Whenever we improve, it is right to leave room for a further improvement. It is right to conſider, to look about us, to examine the effect of what we have done.—Then we can proceed with confidence, becauſe we can proceed with intelligence. Whereas in hot reformations, in what men, more zealous than conſiderate, *call making clear work*, the whole is generally ſo crude, ſo harſh, ſo indigeſted; mixed with ſo much imprudence, and ſo much injuſtice; ſo contrary to the whole courſe of human nature, and human inſtitutions, that the very people who are moſt eager for it, are among the firſt to grow diſguſted at what they have done. Then ſome part of the abdi-

eated grievance is recalled from its exile in order to become a corrective of the correction. Then the abuſe aſſumes all the credit and popularity of a reform. The very idea of purity and diſintereſtedneſs in politics falls into diſrepute, and is conſidered as a viſion of hot and inexperienced men; and thus diſorders become incurable, not by the virulence of their own quality, but by the unapt and violent nature of the remedies. A great part therefore, of my idea of reform, is meant to operate gradually; ſome benefits will come at a nearer, ſome at a more remote period. We muſt no more make haſte to be rich by parſimony, than by intemperate acquiſition.—*Oecon. Reform.*

REFORM.

To innovate is not to reform.

REFORM is, not a change in the ſubſtance, or in the primary modification of the object, but a direct application of a remedy to the grievance complained of. So far as that is removed, all is ſure. It ſtops there; and if it fails, the ſubſtance which underwent the operation, at the very worſt, is but where it was.

All this, in effect, I think, but am not ſure, I have ſaid elſewhere. It cannot at this time be too often repeated; line upon line, precept upon precept, until it comes into the currency of a proverb, *To innovate is not to reform.*

The French revolutioniſts complained of every thing; they refuſed to reform any thing; and they left nothing, no, nothing at all *unchanged.* The conſequences are *before* us—not in remote hiſtory; not in future prognoſtication: they are about us; they are upon us. They ſhake the public ſecurity; they menace private enjoyment. They dwarf the growth of the young; they break the quiet of the old. If we travel, they ſtop our way. They infeſt us in town; they purſue us to the country. Our bu-

ſineſs is interrupted; our repoſe is troubled; our pleaſures are ſaddened; our very ſtudies are poiſoned and perverted, and knowledge is rendered worſe than ignorance, by the enormous evils of this dreadful innovation. The revolution harpies of France, ſprung from night and hell, or from that chaotic anarchy, which generates equivocally "all monſtrous, all prodigious things," cuckoo-like, adulterouſly lay their eggs, and brood over, and hatch them in the neſt of every neighbouring ſtate. Theſe obſcene harpies, who deck themſelves in I know not what divine attributes, but who in reality are foul and ravenous birds of prey, (both mothers and daughters) flutter over our heads, and ſouſe down upon our tables, and leave nothing unrent, unrifled, unravaged, or unpolluted with the ſlime of their filthy offal*.

If his Grace (Bedford) can contemplate the reſult of this compleat innovation, or, as ſome friends of his will call it *reform*, in the whole body of its ſolidity and compound maſs, at which, as Hamlet ſays, the face of Heaven glows with horror and indignation, and which, in truth, makes every reflecting mind, and every feeling heart, perfectly thought-ſick, without a thorough abhorrence of every thing they ſay, and every thing they do, I am amazed at the morbid ſtrength, or the natural infirmity of his mind.——*Letter to a noble Lord.*

* Triſtius haud illis monſtrum, nec fævior ulla
Peſtis, & ira Deûm Stygiis ſeſe extulit undis.
Virginii volucrum vultus; fædiſſima ventris
Proluvies; uncæque manus; & pallida ſemper
Ora fame——

Here the poet breaks the line, becauſe he (and that He is Virgil) had not verſe or language to deſcribe that monſter even as he had conceived her. Had he lived to our time, he would have been more overpowered with the reality than he was with the imagination. Virgil only knew the horror of the times before him. Had he lived to ſee the Revolutioniſts and Conſtitutionaliſts of France, he would have had more horrid and diſguſting features of his harpies to deſcribe, and more frequent failures in the attempt to deſcribe them.

REFORM, (PARLIAMENTARY.)

HAPPILY, France was not then jacobinized, (1780.) Her hoſtility was at a good diſtance. We had a limb cut off; but we reſerved the body. We loſt our colonies; but we kept our conſtitution. There was, indeed, much inteſtine heat; there was a dreadful fermentation. Wild and ſavage inſurrection quitted the woods, and prowled about our ſtreets in the name of reform. Such was the diſtemper of the public mind, that there was no madman, in his maddeſt ideas, and maddeſt projects, that might not count upon numbers to ſupport his principles and execute his deſigns.

Many of the changes, by a great miſnomer called parliamentary reforms, went, not in the intention of all the profeſſors and ſupporters of them, undoubtedly, but went in their certain, and, in my opinion, not very remote effect, home to the utter deſtruction of the conſtitution of this kingdom. Had they taken place, not France, but England, would have had the honour of leading up the death-dance of democratic revolution. Other projects, exactly coincident in time with thoſe, ſtruck at the very exiſtence of the kingdom under any conſtitution. There are, who remember the blind fury of ſome, and the lamentable helpleſſneſs of others; here, a torpid confuſion, from a panic fear of the danger; there, the ſame inaction from a ſtupid inſenſibility to it; here, well-wiſhers to the miſchief; there, indifferent lookers-on. At the ſame time, a ſort of National Convention, dubious in its nature, and perilous in its example, noſed parliament in the very ſeat of its authority; ſat with a ſort of ſuperintendance over it; and little leſs than dictated to it, not only laws, but the very form and eſſence of legiſlature itſelf. In Ireland things ran in a ſtill more eccentric courſe. Government was unnerved, confounded, and in a manner ſuſpended. It's equipoiſe was totally gone. I do not mean to

ſpeak diſreſpectfully of Lord North. He was a man of admirable parts; of general knowledge; of a verſatile underſtanding fitted for every ſort of buſineſs; of infinite wit and pleaſantry; of a delightful temper; and with a mind moſt perfectly diſintereſted. But it would be only to degrade myſelf by a weak adulation, and not to honour the memory of a great man, to deny that he wanted ſomething of the vigilance, and ſpirit of command, that the time required. Indeed, a darkneſs, next to the fog of this awful day, loured over the whole region. For a little time the helm appeared abandoned—

Ipſe diem noctemque negat diſcernere cœlo
Nec meminiſſe viæ mediâ Palinurus in undâ.

Letter to a noble Lord.

REFORMATION.

REFORMATION is one of thoſe pieces which muſt be put at ſome diſtance in order to pleaſe. Its greateſt favourers love it better in the abſtract than in the ſubſtance. When any old prejudice of their own, or any intereſt that they value, is touched, they become ſcrupulous, they become captious, and every man has his ſeparate exception. Some pluck out the black hairs, ſome the grey; one point muſt be given up to one; another point muſt be yielded to another; nothing is ſuffered to prevail upon its own principles: the whole is ſo frittered down, and diſjointed, that ſcarcely a trace of the original ſcheme remains! Thus, between the reſiſtance of power, and the unſyſtematical proceſs of popularity, the undertaker and the undertaking are both expoſed, and the poor reformer is hiſſed off the ſtage, both by friends and foes.——*Oecon Reform.*

REFORMATION.

A SPIRIT of reformation is never more conſiſtent with itſelf, than when it refuſes to be rendered the means of deſtruction.——*Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.*

REFORMATION.

Its Effects.

(*See* REVOLUTION (FRENCH) RELIGION, POLITICS, NEW SYSTEM.)

THE laſt revolution of doctrine and theory which has happened in Europe, is the Reformation. It is not for my purpoſe to take any notice here of the merits of that Revolution, but to ſtate one only of it's effects.

That effect was *to introduce other intereſts into all countries, than thoſe which aroſe from their locality and natural circumſtances.* The principle of the Reformation was ſuch, as by it's eſſence, could not be local or confined to the country in which it had it's origin. For inſtance, the doctrine of "Juſtification by Faith or by Works," which was the original baſis of the Reformation, could not have one of it's alternatives true as to Germany, and falſe as to every other country. Neither are queſtions of true and theoretic falſehood, governed by circumſtances, any more than by places. On that occaſion, therefore, the ſpirit of proſelytiſm expanded itſelf with great elaſticity upon all ſides, and great diviſions were every where the reſult.

Theſe diviſions, however, in appearance merely dogmatic, ſoon became mixed with political; and their effects were rendered much more intenſe from this combination. Europe was, for a long time, divided into two great factions, under the name of Catholic and Proteſtant, which not only often alienated ſtate from ſtate, but alſo divided almoſt every

ſtate within itſelf. The warm parties in each ſtate were more affectionately attached to thoſe of their own doctrinal intereſt in ſome other country than to their fellow-citizens, or to their natural government, when they, or either of them, happened to be of a different perſuaſion. Theſe factions, whenever they prevailed, if they did not abſolutely deſtroy, at leaſt weakened and diſtracted the locality of patriotiſm, the public affections came to have other motives and other ties.

Although the principles to which it gave riſe, did not operate with a perfect regularity and conſtancy, they never wholly ceaſed to operate. Few wars were made, and few treaties were entered into in which they did not come in for ſome part. They gave a colour, a character, and direction to all the politics of Europe.——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

REASON AND AUTHORITY.

To reaſon is not to revolt againſt authority. Reaſon and authority do not move in the ſame parallel. That reaſon is an *amicus curiæ* who ſpeaks *de plano*, not *pro tribunali*; who makes an uſeful ſuggeſtion to the Court, without queſtioning its juriſdiction.—Whilſt he acknowledges its competence, he promotes its efficiency.——*Regicide Peace.*

REPRESENTATION (VIRTUAL.) (SEE IRISH CATHOLICS.)

VIRTUAL repreſentation is that in which there is a communion of intereſts, and a ſympathy in feelings and deſires between thoſe who act in the name of any deſcription of people, and the people in whoſe name they act, though the truſtees are not actually choſen by them. This is virtual repreſentation. Such a repreſentation I think to be, in many caſes, even

better than the actual: it poſſeſſes moſt of its advantages, and is free from many of its inconveniences; it corrects the irregularities in the literal repreſentation, when the ſhifting current of human affairs, or the acting of public intereſts in different ways, carry it obliquely from its firſt line of direction. The people may err in their choice; but common intereſt and common ſentiment are rarely miſtaken. But this ſort of virtual repreſentation cannot have a long or ſure exiſtence, if it has not a ſubſtratum in the actual. The member muſt have ſome relation to the conſtituent.—*Letter to Sir H. Langriſhe, M. P.*

REPRESENTATIVE, HIS DUTY.

In my opinion, it is our duty when we have the deſires of the people before us, to purſue them, not in the ſpirit of literal obedience, which may militate with their very principle, much leſs to treat them with a peeviſh and contentious litigation, as if we were adverſe parties in a ſuit. It would, Sir, be moſt diſhonourable for a faithful repreſentative of the commons, to take advantage of any inartificial expreſſion of the people's wiſhes, in order to fruſtrate their attainment of what they have an undoubted right to expect. We are under infinite obligations to our conſtituents, who have raiſed us to ſo diſtinguiſhed a truſt, and have imparted ſuch a degree of ſanctity to common characters. We ought to walk before them with purity, plainneſs, and integrity of heart; with filial love, and not with ſlaviſh fear, which is always a low and tricking thing.——*Ibid.*

REST AND LABOUR.

Providence has ſo ordered it, that a ſtate of reſt and inaction, however it may flatter our indolence, ſhould be productive of many inconveniencies; that it ſhould generate ſuch diſorders, as may

force us to have recourſe to ſome labour, as a thing abſolutely requiſite to make us paſs our lives with tolerable ſatisfaction; for the nature of reſt is to ſuffer all the parts of our bodies to fall into a relaxation, that not only diſables the members from performing their functions, but takes away the vigorous tone of fibre which is requiſite for carrying on the natural and neceſſary ſecretions. At the ſame time, that in this languid inactive ſtate, the nerves are more liable to the moſt horrid convulſions, than when they are ſufficiently braced and ſtrengthened. Melancholy, dejection, deſpair, and often ſelf-murder, is the conſequence of the gloomy view we take of things in this relaxed ſtate of body. The beſt remedy for all theſe evils is exerciſe or *labour;* and labour is a ſurmounting of *difficulties*, an exertion of the contracting power of the muſcles; and as ſuch reſembles pain, which conſiſts in tenſion or contraction, in every thing but degree. Labour is not only requiſite to preſerve the coarſer organs in a ſtate fit for their functions; but it is equally neceſſary to theſe finer and more delicate organs, on which, and by which, the imagination, and perhaps the other mental powers, act. Since it is probable, that not only the inferior parts of the ſoul, as the paſſions are called, but the underſtanding itſelf makes uſe of ſome fine corporeal inſtruments in it's operation; though what they are, and where they are, may be ſomewhat hard to ſettle: but that it does make uſe of ſuch, appears from hence; that a long exerciſe of the mental powers induces a remarkable laſſitude of the whole body; and on the other hand, that great bodily labour, or pain, weakens and ſometimes actually deſtroys the mental faculties. Now, as a due exerciſe is eſſential to the coarſe muſcular parts of the conſtitution, and that without this rouſing they would become languid and diſeaſed, the very ſame rule holds with regard to thoſe finer parts we have mentioned;

to have them in proper order, they muſt be ſhaken and worked to a proper degree.——*Sublime and Beautiful.*

ROYALISTS (FRENCH.) (SEE NOBILITY.)

WHEN I ſpeak of Royaliſts, I wiſh to be underſtood of thoſe who were always ſuch from principle. Every arm lifted up for Royalty from the beginning, was the arm of a man ſo principled. I do not think there are ten exceptions.

The principled Royaliſts are certainly not of force to effect theſe objects by themſelves. If they were, the operations of the preſent great combination would be wholly unneceſſary. What I contend for is, that they ſhould be conſulted with, treated with, and employed; and that no foreigners whatſoever are either in intereſt ſo engaged, or in judgment and local knowledge ſo competent, to anſwer all theſe purpoſes as the natural proprietors of the country.

Their number for an exiled party is alſo conſiderable. Almoſt the whole body of the landed proprietors of France, eccleſiaſtical and civil, have been ſteadily devoted to the monarchy. This body does not amount to leſs than ſeventy thouſand—a very great number in the compoſition of the reſpectable claſſes in any ſociety. I am ſure, that if half that number of the ſame deſcription were taken out of this country, it would leave hardly any thing that I ſhould call the people of England. On the faith of the Emperor and the King of Pruſſia, a body of ten thouſand nobility on horſeback, with the King's two brothers at their head, ſerved with the King of Pruſſia in the campaign of 1792, and equipped themſelves with the laſt ſhilling of their ruined fortunes and exhauſted credit*. It is not now the queſtion how

* Before the Revolution the French nobleſſe were ſo reduced in numbers, that they did not much exceed twenty thouſand, at leaſt of full grown men. As they have been very cruelly formed into

that great force came to be rendered uſeleſs and totally diſſipated. I ſtate it now, only to remark, that a great part of the ſame force exiſts, and would act if it were enabled. I am ſure every thing has ſhewn us that in this war with France, one Frenchman is worth twenty foreigners. La Vendée is a proof of this.——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1793.

REPUBLICANS (HIGH-BRED.)

ALMOST all the high-bred republicans of my time have, after a ſhort ſpace, become the moſt decided, thorough paced courtiers; they ſoon left the buſineſs of a tedious, moderate, but practical reſiſtance to thoſe of us whom, in the pride and intoxication of their theories, they have ſlighted, as not much better than tories.——*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

RANCOUR.

PROCEED in what you do, whatever you do, from policy, and not from rancour.——*Speech on American Taxation.*

RICH (THE). (SEE SOCIETY.)

The Rich thrown into two Claſſes, viz. Stateſmen and Men of Pleaſure—Deſcription of both.

THE rich in all ſocieties may be thrown into two claſſes. The firſt is of thoſe who are powerful as well as rich, and conduct the operations of the vaſt political machine. The other is of thoſe who employ their riches wholly in the acquiſition of pleaſure. As to the firſt ſort, their continual care and anxiety, their

entire corps of ſoldiers, it is eſtimated, that by the ſword, and diſtempers in the field, they have not loſt leſs than five thouſand men; and if this courſe is purſued, it is to be feared, that the whole body of the French nobility may be extinguiſhed. Several hundreds have alſo periſhed by famine and various accidents.

toilſome days, and ſleepleſs nights, are next to proverbial. Theſe circumſtances are ſufficient almoſt to level their condition to that of the unhappy majority; but there are other circumſtances which place them in a far lower condition. Not only their underſtandings labour continually, which is the ſevereſt labour, but their hearts are torn by the worſt, moſt troubleſome, and inſatiable of all paſſions, by avarice, by ambition, by fear, and jealouſy. No part of the mind has reſt. Power gradually extirpates from the mind every humane and gentle virtue. Pity, benevolence, friendſhip, are things almoſt unknown in high ſtations. *Veræ amicitiæ rariſſime inveniuntur in iis qui in honoribus reque publica verſantur*, ſays Cicero. And indeed, courts are the ſchools where cruelty, pride, diſſimulation and treachery are ſtudied and taught in the moſt vicious perfection. This is a point ſo clear and acknowledged, that if it did not make a neceſſary part of my ſubject, I ſhould paſs it by entirely. And this has hindered me from drawing at full length, and in the moſt ſtriking colours, this ſhocking picture of the degeneracy and wretchedneſs of human nature, in that part which is vulgarly thought its happieſt and moſt amiable ſtate.—You know from what originals I could copy ſuch pictures. Happy are they who know enough of them to know the little value of the poſſeſſors of ſuch things, and of all that they poſſeſs; and happy they who have been ſnatched from that poſt of danger which they occupy, with the remains of their virtue; loſs of honours, wealth, titles, and even the loſs of one's country, is nothing in balance with ſo great an advantage.

Let us now view the other ſpecies of the rich, thoſe who devote their time and fortunes to idleneſs and pleaſure. How much happier are they? The pleaſures which are agreeable to nature are within the reach of all, and therefore can form no diſtinction in favour of the rich. The pleaſures which art forces

up are ſeldom ſincere, and never ſatisfying. What is worſe, this conſtant application to pleaſure takes away from the enjoyment, or rather turns it into the nature of a very burthenſome and laborious buſineſs. It has conſequences much more fatal. It produces a weak valetudinary ſtate of body, attended by all thoſe horrid diſorders, and yet more horrid methods of cure, which are the reſult of luxury on one hand, and the weak and ridiculous efforts of human art on the other. The pleaſures of ſuch men are ſcarcely felt as pleaſures; at the ſame time that they bring on pains and diſeaſes, which are felt but too ſeverely. The mind has its ſhare of the misfortune; it grows lazy and enervate, unwilling and unable to ſearch for truth, and utterly uncapable of knowing, much leſs of reliſhing real happineſs. The poor by their exceſſive labour, and the rich by their enormous luxury, are ſet upon a level, and rendered equally ignorant of any knowledge which might conduce to their happineſs. A diſmal view of the interior of all civil ſociety. The lower part broken and ground down by the moſt cruel oppreſſion; and the rich by their artificial method of life bringing worſe evils on themſelves, than their tyranny could poſſibly inflict on thoſe below them. Very different is the proſpect of the natural ſtate. Here there are no wants which nature gives, and in this ſtate men can be ſenſible of no other wants, which are not to be ſupplied by a very moderate degree of labour; therefore there is no ſlavery. Neither is there any luxury, becauſe no ſingle man can ſupply the materials of it. Life is ſimple, and therefore it is happy.——*Vindication of Natural Society.*

RELIGION.

Conſolation in Religion.

THE Engliſh people are ſatisfied, that to the great the conſolations of religion are as neceſſary as its in-

ſtructions. They too are among the unhappy. They feel perſonal pain and domeſtic ſorrow. In theſe they have no privilege, but are ſubject to pay their full contingent to the contributions levied on mortality. They want this ſovereign balm under their gnawing cares and anxieties, which being leſs converſant about the limited wants of animal life, range without limit, and are diverſified by infinite combinations in the wild and unbounded regions of imagination. Some charitable dole is wanting to theſe, our often very unhappy brethren, to fill the gloomy void that reigns in minds which have nothing on earth to hope or fear; ſomething to relieve in the killing languor and over-laboured laſſitude of thoſe who have nothing to do; ſomething to excite an appetite to exiſtence in the palled ſatiety which attends on all pleaſures which may be bought, where nature is not left to her own proceſs, where even deſire is anticipated, and therefore fruition defeated by meditated ſchemes and contrivances of delight; and no interval, no obſtacle, is interpoſed between the wiſh and the accompliſhment.——*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

RELIGION. (SEE ATHEISM.)

RELIGION is among the moſt powerful cauſes of enthuſiaſm. When any thing concerning it becomes an object of much meditation, it cannot be indifferent to the mind. They who do not love religion, hate it. The rebels to God perfectly abhor the author of their being. They hate him "with all their heart, with "all their mind, with all their ſoul, and with all their "ſtrength." He never preſents himſelf to their thoughts, but to menace and alarm them. They cannot ſtrike the Sun out of Heaven, but they are able to raiſe as mouldering ſmoke that obſcures him from their own eyes. Not being able to revenge themſelves on God, they have a delight in vicariouſly

defacing, degrading, torturing, and tearing in pieces his image in man.—*Regicide Peace.*

RUSSIA. (SEE REVOLUTION (FRENCH.)

THE Ruſſian government is of all others the moſt liable to be ſubverted by military ſedition, by court conſpiracies, and ſometimes by head-long rebellious people, ſuch as the turbinating movement of Pugatchef. It is not quite ſo probable, that in any of theſe changes the ſpirit of ſyſtem may mingle in the manner it has done in France. The Muſcovites are no great ſpeculators; but I ſhould not much rely on their uninquiſitive diſpoſition, if any of their ordinary motives to ſedition ſhould ariſe. The little catechiſm of the Rights of Man is ſoon learned, and the references are in the paſſions.——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

RIGHTS.

Natural and Chartered.

THE rights of *men*, that is to ſay, the natural rights of mankind, are indeed ſacred things; and if any public meaſure is proved miſchievouſly to affect them, the objection ought to be fatal to that meaſure, even if no charter at all could be ſet up againſt it. If theſe natural rights are further affirmed and declared by expreſs covenants, if they are clearly defined and ſecured againſt chicane, againſt power, and authority, by written inſtruments and poſitive engagements, they are ſtill in a better condition: they partake not only of the ſanctity of the object ſo ſecured, but of that ſolemn public faith itſelf, which ſecures an object of ſuch importance. Indeed this formal recognition, by the ſovereign power, of an original right in the ſubject, can never be ſubverted, but by rooting up the holding radical principles of Government, and even of ſociety itſelf. The char-

ters, which we call by diſtinction *great*, are public inſtruments of this nature; I mean the charters of King John and King Henry the Third. The things ſecured by theſe inſtruments may, without any deceitful ambiguity, be very fitly called the *chartered rights of men.*

Theſe charters have made the very name of a charter dear to the heart of every Engliſhman. But, Sir, there may be, and there are charters, not only different in nature, but formed on principles the *very reverſe* of thoſe of the great charter. Of this kind is the charter of the Eaſt-India Company. *Magna charta* is a charter to reſtrain power, and to deſtroy monopoly. The Eaſt-India charter is a charter to eſtabliſh monopoly, and to create power. Political power and commercial monopoly are *not* the rights of men; and the rights to them derived from charters, it is fallacious and ſophiſtical to call "*the chartered rights of men.*" Theſe chartered rights, (to ſpeak of ſuch charters and of their effects in terms of the greateſt poſſible moderation) do at leaſt ſuſpend the natural rights of mankind at large; and in their very frame and conſtitution are liable to fall into a direct violation of them.——*Speech on Mr. Fox's Eaſt-India Bill.*

RIGHTS OF MAN.

THEY (the French) made and recorded a ſort of *inſtitute* and digeſt of anarchy, called the Rights of Man, in ſuch a pedantic abuſe of elementary principles, as would have diſgraced boys at ſchool; but this declaration of rights was worſe than trifling and pedantic in them; as by their name and authority they ſyſtematically deſtroyed every hold of authority by opinion, religious or civil, on the minds of the people. By this mad declaration, they ſubverted the ſtate; and brought on ſuch calamities as no country, without a long war, has ever been known to ſuffer.—*Speech on the Army Eſtimates.*

RIGHTS OF MAN (FRENCH.)

Compared to a portentous Comet.

ASTRONOMERS have ſuppoſed, that if a certain comet, whoſe path interſected the ecliptic, had met the earth in ſome (I forget what) ſign, it would have whirled us along with it, in its eccentric courſe, into God knows what regions of heat and cold. Had the portentous comet of the Rights of Man, (which "from "its horrid hair ſhakes peſtilence, and war," and "with fear of change perplexes Monarchs,") had that comet croſſed upon us in that internal ſtate of England, in 1780, nothing human could have prevented our being irreſiſtibly hurried, out of the highway of heaven, into all the vices, crimes, horrors, and miſeries of the French revolution.—*Letter to a noble Lord.*

RIGHTS OF MAN (REAL).

FAR am I from denying in theory, full as far is my heart from withholding in practice, (if I were of power to give or to withhold) the *real* rights of men. In denying their falſe claims of right, I do not mean to injure thoſe which are real, and are ſuch as their pretended rights would totally deſtroy. If civil ſociety be made for the advantage of man, all the advantages for which it is made become his right. It is an inſtitution of beneficence; and law itſelf is only beneficence acting by a rule. Men have a right to live by that rule; they have a right to juſtice; as between their fellows, whether their fellows are in politic function or in ordinary occupation. They have a right to the fruits of their induſtry; and to the means of making their induſtry fruitful. They have a right to the acquiſitions of their parents; to the nouriſhment and improvement of their offspring; to inſtruction in life, and to conſolation in death. Whatever each man can ſeparately do, without treſpaſſing upon others, he has a right to do for himſelf; and he has a right to a fair portion of all which ſociety, with all

its combinations of ſkill and force, can do in his favour. In this partnerſhip all men have equal rights; but not to equal things. He that has but five ſhillings in the partnerſhip, has as good a right to it, as he that has five hundred pounds has to his larger proportion. But he has not a right to an equal dividend in the product of the joint ſtock; and as to the ſhare of power, authority, and direction which each individual ought to have in the management of the ſtate, that I muſt deny to be amongſt the direct original rights of man in civil ſociety; for I have in my contemplation the civil ſocial man, and no other. It is a thing to be ſettled by convention. ——*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

RIGHTS OF MAN, (THE OBJECT OF.)

THE political dogma, which upon the new French ſyſtem, is to unite the factions of different nations, turns on this, "That the majority told, by the head, "of the taxable people in every country, is the per- "petual, natural, unceaſing, indefeaſible ſovereign; "that this majority is perfectly maſter of the form, "as well as the adminiſtration of the ſtate, and that "the magiſtrates, under whatever names they are "called, are only functionaries to obey the orders, "(general as laws or particular as decrees) which "that majority may make; that this is the only na- "tural government; that all others are tyranny and "uſurpation."

In order to reduce this dogma into practice, the republicans in France, and their aſſociates in other countries, make it always their buſineſs, and often their public profeſſion, to deſtroy all traces of antient eſtabliſhments, and to form a new commonwealth in each country, upon the baſis of the French *Rights of Men*. On the principle of theſe rights, they mean to inſtitute in every country, and as it were, the germ of the whole, parochial governments, for the

purpoſe of what they call equal repreſentation. From them is to grow, by ſome media, a general council and repreſentative of all the parochial governments. In that repreſentative is to be veſted the whole national power; totally aboliſhing hereditary name and office, levelling all conditions of men, (except where money *muſt* make a difference) breaking all connexion between territory and dignity, and aboliſhing every ſpecies of nobility, gentry, and church eſtabliſhments; all their prieſts, and all their magiſtrates being only creatures of election, and penſioners at will.

Knowing how oppoſite a permanent landed intereſt is to that ſcheme, they have reſolved, and it is the great drift of all their regulations, to reduce that deſcription of men to a mere peaſantry, for the ſuſtenance of the towns, and to place the true effective government in cities, among the tradeſmen, bankers, and voluntary clubs of bold, preſuming young perſons;—advocates, attornies, notaries, managers of newſpapers, and thoſe cabals of literary men, called academies. Their republic is to have a firſt functionary, (as they call him) under the name of king, or not, as they think fit. This officer, when ſuch an officer is permitted, is however, neither in fact nor name, to be conſidered as ſovereign, nor the people as his ſubjects. The very uſe of theſe appellations is offenſive to their ears.—*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

RIGHTS OF MAN.

HER (France) good and ill diſpoſitions are ſhewn by the ſame means. *To communicate peaceably* the rights of men is the true mode of her ſhewing her *friendſhip;* to force Sovereigns to *ſubmit* to thoſe rights is her mode of *hoſtility*. So that either as friend or foe, her whole ſcheme has been and is, to throw the Empire (Germany) into confuſion.—*Ibid.*

RIGHTS OF MAN.

This Doctrine has pervaded Germany.

In ſhort, the Germanic body is a vaſt maſs of heterogeneous States, held together by that heterogeneous body of old principles which formed the public law poſitive and doctrinal. The modern laws and liberties which the new power in France propoſes to introduce into Germany, and to ſupport with all its force, of intrigue and of arms, is of a very different nature, utterly irreconcileable with the firſt, and, indeed, fundamentally the reverſe of it: I mean the *Rights and Liberties of the Man*, the *Droit de l'Homme*. That this doctrine has made an amazing progreſs in Germany, there cannot be a ſhadow of doubt. They are infected by it along the whole courſe of the Rhine, the Maeſe, the Moſelle, and in the greater part of Suabia and Franconia. It is particularly prevalent amongſt all the lower people, churchmen and laity, in the dominions of the Eccleſiaſtical Electors. It is not eaſy to find or to conceive Governments more mild and indulgent than theſe Church Sovereignties; but good government is as nothing when the Rights of Man take poſſeſſion of the mind. Indeed the looſe rein held over the people in theſe provinces, muſt be conſidered as one cauſe of the facility with which they lend themſelves to any ſchemes of innovation, by inducing them to think lightly of their governments, and to judge of grievances not by feeling, but by imagination.——*Ibid.*

RIGHTS OF MEN.

The rights of men in governments are their advantages; and theſe are often in balances between the differences of good; in compromiſes ſometimes between good and evil.——*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

RIGHTS OF MEN.

THE moment you abate any thing from the full rights of men, each to govern himſelf, and ſuffer any artificial poſitive limitation upon thoſe rights, from that moment the whole organization of government becomes a conſideration of convenience. This it is which makes the conſtitution of a ſtate, and the due diſtribution of its powers, a matter of the moſt delicate and complicated ſkill. It requires a deep knowledge of human nature and human neceſſities, and of the things which facilitate or obſtruct the various ends which are to be purſued by the mechaniſm of civil inſtitutions. The ſtate is to have recruits to its ſtrength, and remedies to its diſtempers. What is the uſe of diſcuſſing a man's abſtract right to food or to medicine? The queſtion is upon the method of procuring and adminiſtering them. In that deliberation I ſhall always adviſe to call in the aid of the farmer and the phyſician, rather than the profeſſor of metaphyſics.—*Ibid.*

RIGHTS OF MEN.

Men have no Right to what is not reaſonable.

MEN have no right to what is not reaſonable, and to what is not for their benefit; for though a pleaſant writer ſaid, *Liceat perire poetis*, when one of them in cold blood is ſaid to have leaped into the flames of a Volcanic revolution, *Ardentem frigidus Ætnam inſiluit;* I conſider ſuch a frolic rather as an unjuſtifiable poetic licence, than as one of the franchiſes of Parnaſſus; and whether he was poet or divine, or politician, that choſe to exerciſe this kind of right, I think that more wiſe, becauſe more charitable thoughts would urge me rather to ſave the man, than to preſerve his brazen ſlippers as the monuments of his folly.——*Ibid.*

THE peaſants, in all probability, are the deſcendants of theſe antient proprietors, Romans or Gauls. But if they fail, in any degree, in the titles which they make on the principles of antiquaries and lawyers, they retreat into the citadel of the rights of men. There they find that men are equal; and the earth, the kind and equal mother of all, ought not to be monopolized to foſter the pride and luxury of any men, who by nature are no better than themſelves, and who, if they do not labour for their bread, are worſe. They find, that by the laws of nature the occupant and ſubduer of the ſoil is the true proprietor; that there is no preſcription againſt nature; and that the agreements (where any there are) which have been made with their landlords, during the time of ſlavery, are only the effect of dureſſe and force; and that when the people re-entered into the rights of men, thoſe agreements were made as void as every thing elſe which had been ſettled under the prevalence of the old feudal and ariſtocratic tyranny. They will tell you that they ſee no difference between an idler with a hat and a national cockade, and an idler in a cowl or in a rochet. If you ground the title to rents on ſucceſſion and preſcription, they tell you, from the ſpeech of Mr. *Camus*, publiſhed by the national aſſembly for their information, that things ill begun cannot avail themſelves of preſcription; that the title of theſe lords was vicious in its origin; and that force is at leaſt as bad as fraud. As to the title by ſucceſſion, they will tell you, that the ſucceſſion of thoſe who have cultivated the ſoil is the true pedigree of property, and not rotten parchments and ſilly ſubſtitutions; that the lords have enjoyed their uſurpation too long; and that if they allow to theſe lay monks any charitable penſion, they ought to be thankful to the bounty of the true proprietor, who is ſo generous towards a falſe claimant to his goods.

When the peaſants give you back that coin of ſophiſtic reaſon, on which you have ſet your image and ſuperſcription, you cry it down as baſe money, and tell them you will pay for the future with French guards, and dragoons, and huſſars. You hold up, to chaſtiſe them, the ſecond-hand authority of a king, who is only the inſtrument of deſtroying, without any power of protecting either the people or his own perſon. Through him it ſeems you will make yourſelves obeyed. They anſwer, you have taught us that there are no gentlemen; and which of your principles teach us to bow to kings whom we have not elected? We know, without your teaching, that lands were given for the ſupport of feudal dignities, feudal titles, and feudal offices. When you took down the cauſe as a grievance, why ſhould the more grievous effect remain? As there are now no hereditary honours, and no diſtinguiſhed families, why are we taxed to maintain what you tell us ought not to exiſt? You have ſent down our old ariſtocratic landlords in no other character, and with no other title, but that of exactors under your authority. Have you endeavoured to make theſe your rent-gatherers reſpectable to us? No. You have ſent them to us with their arms reverſed, their ſhields broken, their impreſſes defaced; and ſo diſplumed, degraded, and metamorphoſed, ſuch unfeathered two-legged things, that we no longer know them. They are ſtrangers to us. They do not even go by the names of our antient lords. Phyſically they may be the ſame men; though we are not quite ſure of that, on your new philoſophic doctrines of perſonal identity. In all other reſpects they are totally changed. We do not ſee why we have not as good a right to refuſe them their rents, as you have to abrogate all their honours, titles, and diſtinctions. This we have never commiſſioned you to do; and it is one inſtance, among many indeed, of your aſſumption of undelegated power. We ſee the burghers of Paris, through their clubs, their mobs, and their

national guards, directing you at their pleaſure, and giving that as law to you, which, under your authority, is tranſmitted as law to us. Through you, theſe burghers diſpoſe of the lives and fortunes of us all. Why ſhould not you attend us as much to the deſires of the laborious huſbandman with regard to our rent, by which we are affected in the moſt ſerious manner, as you do to the demands of theſe inſolent burghers relative to diſtinctions and titles of honour, by which neither they nor we are affected at all? But we find you pay more regard to their fancies than to our neceſſities. Is it among the rights of man to pay tribute to his equals? Before this meaſure of yours, we might have thought we were not perfectly equal. We might have entertained ſome old, habitual, unmeaning prepoſſeſſion in favour of thoſe landlords; but we cannot conceive with what other view than that of deſtroying all reſpect to them, you could have made the law that degrades them. You have forbidden us to treat them with any of the old formalities of reſpect, and now you ſend troops to ſabre and to bayonet us into a ſubmiſſion to fear and force, which you did not ſuffer us to yield to the mild authority of opinion.

The ground of ſome of theſe arguments is horrid and ridiculous to all rational ears; but to the politicians of metaphyſics who have opened ſchools for ſophiſtry, and made eſtabliſhments for anarchy, it is ſolid and concluſive. It is obvious, that on a mere conſideration of the right, the leaders in the aſſembly would not in the leaſt have ſcrupled to abrogate the rents along with the titles and family enſigns. It would be only to follow up the principle of their reaſonings, and to complete the analogy of their conduct. But they had newly poſſeſſed themſelves of a great body of landed property by confiſcation. They had this commodity at market; and the market would have been wholly deſtroyed, if they were to permit the huſbandman to riot in the ſpeculations

with which they ſo freely intoxicated themſelves. The only ſecurity which property enjoys in any one of its deſcriptions, is from the intereſts of their rapacity with regard to ſome other. They have left nothing but their own arbitrary pleaſure to determine what property is to be protected and what ſubverted. —*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

RIGHTS (METAPHYSIC.)

THESE metaphyſic rights entering into common life, like rays of light which pierce into a denſe medium, are, by the laws of nature, refracted from their ſtraight line. Indeed in the groſs and complicated maſs of human paſſions and concerns, the primitive rights of men undergo ſuch a variety of refractions and reflections, that it becomes abſurd to talk of them as if they continued in the ſimplicity of their original direction. The nature of man is intricate; the objects of ſociety are of the greateſt poſſible complexity; and therefore no ſimple diſpoſition or direction of power can be ſuitable either to man's nature, or to the quality of his affairs. When I hear the ſimplicity of contrivance aimed at and boaſted of in any new political conſtitutions, I am at no loſs to decide that the artificers are groſsly ignorant of their trade, or totally negligent of their duty. The ſimple governments are fundamentally defective, to ſay no worſe of them. If you were to comtemplate ſociety in but one point of view, all theſe ſimple modes of polity are infinitely captivating. In effect each would anſwer its ſingle end much more perfectly than the more complex is able to attain all its complex purpoſes. But it is better that the whole ſhould be imperfectly and anomalouſly anſwered, than that, while ſome parts are provided for with great exactneſs, others might be totally neglected, or, perhaps, materially injured, by the over-care of a favourite member.——*Ibid.*

RIGHTS (PETITION AND DECLARATION OF.)

In the famous law of the 3d of Charles I. called the *Petition of Rights*, the parliament ſays to the king, "Your ſubjects have *inherited* this freedom," claiming their franchiſes not on abſtract principles "as the rights of men," but as the rights of Engliſhmen, and as a patrimony derived from their forefathers. Selden, and the other profoundly learned men, who drew this petition of right, were as well acquainted, at leaſt, with all the general theories concerning the "rights of men," as any of the diſcourſers in our pulpits, or on your tribune; full as well as Dr. Price, or as the Abbè Sieyes. But, for reaſons worthy of that practical wiſdom which ſuperſeded their theoretic ſcience, they preferred this poſitive, recorded, *hereditary* title to all which can be dear to the man and the citizen, to that vague ſpeculative right, which expoſed their ſure inheritance to be ſcrambled for and torn to pieces by every wild litigious ſpirit.

The ſame policy pervades all the laws which have ſince been made for the preſervation of our liberties. In the 1ſt of William and Mary, in the famous ſtatute, called the Declaration of Right, the two houſes utter not a ſyllable of "a right to frame a government for themſelves." You will ſee, that their whole care was to ſecure the religion, laws, and liberties, that had been long poſſeſſed, and had been lately endangered. "Taking* into their moſt ſerious conſideration the *beſt* means for making ſuch an eſtabliſhment, that their religion, laws, and liberties, might not be in danger of being again ſubverted,' they auſpicate all their proceedings, by ſtating as ſome of thoſe *beſt* means, "in the *firſt place*" to do "as their *anceſtors in like caſes have uſually* done for vindicating their *antient* rights and liberties, to *declare*;"—and then they pray the king

* 1 W. & M.

and queen, "that it may be *declared* and enacted, "that *all and ſingular* the rights and liberties *aſſerted* "*and declared* are the true *antient* and indubitable "rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom."

You will obſerve, that from Magna Charta to the declaration of right, it has been the uniform policy of our conſtitution to claim and aſſert our liberties, as an *entailed inheritance* derived to us from our forefathers, and to be tranſmitted to our poſterity. ——*Ibid.*

REGICIDE PEACE.

IF the general diſpoſition of the people be, as I hear it is, for an immediate peace with regicide, without ſo much as conſidering our public and ſolemn engagements to the parties, or any inquiry into the terms, it is all over with us. It is ſtrange, but it may be true, that as the danger from advances to jacobiniſm is increaſed in my eyes and in yours, the fear of it is leſſened in theirs. It ſeems they act under the impreſſion of other ſort of terrors, which frighten them out of their firſt apprehenſions: but it is fit they ſhould recollect, that they who would make peace without a previous knowledge of the terms, make a ſurrender. They are conquered. They do not treat; they receive the law. Then the people of England are contented to ſeek in the kindneſs of a foreign ſyſtematic enemy combined with a dangerous faction at home; a ſecurity which they cannot find in their own patriotiſm and their own courage. They are willing to truſt to the ſympathy of regicides, the guarantee of the Britiſh monarchy. They are content to reſt their religion on the piety of atheiſts by eſtabliſhment. They are ſatisfied to ſeek in the clemency of practiſed murderers the ſecurity of their lives. They are pleaſed to confide their property to the ſafeguard of thoſe who are robbers by inclination, intereſt, habit, and ſyſtem. If this be our deliberate

mind, truly we deſerve to loſe, what we cannot long retain, the name of a nation.——*Regicide Peace.*

REGICIDE PEACE.

WITH a regicide peace the King cannot long have a miniſter to ſerve him, nor the miniſter a King to ſerve. If the great diſpoſer, in reward of the royal and private virtues of our ſovereign, ſhould call him from the calamitous ſpectacle which will attend a ſtate of amity with regicide, his ſucceſſor will ſurely ſee them, unleſs the ſame providence greatly anticipates the courſe of nature. Thinking thus, (and not as I conceive on light grounds) I dare not flatter the reigning ſovereign, nor any miniſter he has, or can have, nor his ſucceſſor apparent, nor any of thoſe who may be called to ſerve him, with what appears to me a falſe ſtate of their ſituation. We cannot have them and that peace together.——*Ibid.*

REGICIDE AND REBELS (FRENCH.) *(See* HISTORY.)

Indemnity and Puniſhment.

IF theſe princes had ſhewn a tyrannic diſpoſition, it would be much to be lamented. We have no others to govern France. If we ſcreened the body of murderers from their juſtice, we ſhould only leave the innocent in future to the mercy of men of fierce and ſanguinary diſpoſitions, of which in ſpite of all our intermeddling in their conſtitution, we could not prevent the effects. But as we have much more reaſon to fear their feeble lenity than any blameable rigour, we ought, in my opinion, to leave the matter to themſelves.

If, however, I were aſked to give an advice merely as ſuch—here are my ideas. I am not for a total indemnity, nor a general puniſhment. And firſt, the body and maſs of the people never ought to be treated as criminal. They may become an object of

more or leſs conſtant watchfulneſs and ſuſpicion, as their preſervation may beſt require, but they can never become an object of puniſhment. This is one of the few fundamental and unalterable principles of politics.

To puniſh them capitally would be to make maſſacres. Maſſacres only increaſe the ferocity of men, and teach them to regard their own lives and thoſe of others as of little value; whereas the great policy of government is to teach the people to think both of great importance in the eyes of God and the State, and never to be ſacrificed or even hazarded to gratify their paſſions, or for any thing but the duties preſcribed by the rules of morality, and under the direction of public law and public authority. To puniſh them with leſſer penalties would be to debilitate the commonwealth, and make the nation miſerable, which it is the buſineſs of government to render happy and flouriſhing.

As to crimes too, I would draw a ſtrong line of limitation. For no one offence, *politically an offence of rebellion*, by council, contrivance, perſuaſion, or compulſion, for none properly a *military offence of rebellion*, or any thing done by open hoſtility in the field, ſhould any man at all be called in queſtion; becauſe ſuch ſeems to be the proper and natural death of civil diſſentions. The offences of war are obliterated by peace.

Another claſs will of courſe be included in the indemnity, namely, all thoſe who by their activity in reſtoring lawful Government ſhall obliterate their offences. The offence previouſly known, the acceptance of ſervice is a pardon for crimes. I fear that this claſs of men will not be very numerous.

So far as to indemnity. But where are the objects of juſtice, and of example, and of future ſecurity to the public peace? They are naturally pointed out, not by their having outraged political and civil laws, nor their having rebelled againſt the ſtate, as a State,

but by their having rebelled againſt the law of nature, and outraged man, as man. In this liſt, all the regicides in general, all thoſe who laid ſacrilegious hands on the King, who, without any thing in their own rebellious miſſion to the convention to juſtify them, brought him to his trial, and unanimouſly voted him guilty; all thoſe who had a ſhare in the cruel murder of the Queen, and the deteſtable proceedings with regard to the young King, and the unhappy Princeſſes; all thoſe who committed cold-blooded murder any where, and particularly in their revolutionary tribunals, where every idea of natural juſtice and of their own declared Rights of Man, have been trod under foot with the moſt infolent mockery; all men concerned in the burning and demolition of houſes or churches, with audacious and marked acts of ſacrilege and ſcorns offered to religion; in general, all the leaders of Jacobin clubs; not one of theſe ſhould eſcape a puniſhment ſuitable to the nature, quality, and degree of their offence, by a ſteady but a meaſured juſtice.

In the firſt place, no man ought to be ſubject to any penalty, from the higheſt to the loweſt, but by a trial according to the courſe of law, carried on with all that caution and deliberation which has been uſed in the beſt times and precedents of the French juriſprudence, the criminal law of which country, faulty to be ſure in ſome particulars, was highly laudable and tender of the lives of men. In reſtoring order and juſtice, every thing like retaliation ought to be religiouſly avoided; and an example ought to be ſet of a total alienation from the Jacobin proceedings in their accurſed revolutionary tribunals. Every thing like lumping men in maſſes, and of forming tables of proſcription ought to be avoided.

In all theſe puniſhments, any thing which can be alledged in mitigation of the offence ſhould be fully conſidered. Mercy is not a thing oppoſed to juſtice. It is an eſſential part of it; as neceſſary in criminal

caſes, as in civil affairs equity is to law. It is only for the Jacobins never to pardon. They have not done it in a ſingle inſtance. A council of mercy ought therefore to be appointed, with powers to report on each caſe, to ſoften the penalty, or entirely to remit it, according to circumſtances.

With theſe precautions, the very firſt foundation of ſettlement muſt be to call to a ſtrict account thoſe bloody and mercileſs offenders. Without it government cannot ſtand a year. People little conſider the utter impoſſibility of getting thoſe who having emerged from very low, ſome from the loweſt claſſes of ſociety, have exerciſed a power ſo high, and with ſuch unrelenting and bloody a rage, quietly to fall back into their old ranks, and become humble, peaceable, laborious, and uſeful members of ſociety. It never can be. On the other hand, is it to be believed, that any worthy and virtuous ſubject, reſtored to the ruins of his houſe, will, with patience, ſee the cold-blooded murderer of his father, mother, wife, or children, or, perhaps, all of theſe relations (ſuch things have been) noſe him in his own village, and inſult him with the riches acquired from the plunder of his goods, ready again to head a Jacobin faction to attack his life? He is unworthy of the name of man who would ſuffer it. It is unworthy of the name of a government, which taking juſtice out of the private hand, will not exerciſe it for the injured by the public arm.

I know it ſounds plauſible, and is readily adopted by thoſe who have little ſympathy with the ſufferings of others, who wiſh to jumble the innocent and guilty into one maſs, by a general indemnity. This cruel indifference dignifies itſelf with the name of humanity.

It is extraordinary that as the wicked arts of this regicide and tyrannous faction increaſe in number, variety, and atrocity, the deſire of puniſhing them becomes more and more faint, and the talk of an

indemnity towards them, every day ſtronger and ſtronger. Our ideas of juſtice appear to be fairly conquered and overpowered by guilt when it is grown gigantic. It is not the point of view in which we are in the habit of viewing guilt. The crimes we every day puniſh, are really below the penalties we inflict. The criminals are obſcure and feeble. This is the view in which we ſee ordinary crimes and criminals. But when guilt is ſeen, though but for a time, to be furniſhed with the arms, and to be inveſted with the robes of power, it ſeems to aſſume another nature, and to get, as it were, out of our juriſdiction. This I fear is the caſe with many. But there is another cauſe full as powerful towards this ſecurity to enormous guilt, the deſire which poſſeſſes people who have once obtained power, to enjoy it at their eaſe. It is not humanity, but lazineſs and inertneſs of mind which produces the deſire of this kind of indemnities. This deſcription of men, love general and ſhort methods. If they puniſh, they make a promiſcuous maſſacre; if they ſpare, they make a general act of oblivion. This is a want of diſpoſition to proceed laboriouſly according to the caſes, and according to the rules and principles of juſtice on each caſe; a want of diſpoſition to aſſort criminals, to diſcriminate the degrees and modes of guilt, to ſeparate accomplices from principals, leaders from followers, ſeducers from the ſeduced, and then by following the ſame principles in the ſame detail, to claſs puniſhments, and to fit them to the nature and kind of the delinquency. If that were once attempted, we ſhould ſoon ſee that the taſk was neither infinite, nor the execution cruel. There would be deaths, but for the number of criminals, and the extent of France, not many. There would be caſes of tranſportation; caſes of labour to reſtore what has been wickedly deſtroyed; caſes of impriſonment, and caſes of mere exile. But be this as it may, I am ſure that if juſtice is not done there, there can be

neither peace or juſtice there, nor in any part of Europe.

Hiſtory is reſorted to for other acts of indemnity in other times. The Princes are deſired to look back to Henry the Fourth. We are deſired to look to the reſtoration of king Charles. Theſe things, in my opinion, have no reſemblance whatſoever. They were caſes of a civil war; in France more ferocious, in England more moderate than common. In neither country were the orders of ſociety ſubverted; religion and morality deſtroyed on principle, or property totally annihilated. In England the government of Cromwell was to be ſure ſomewhat rigid, but for a new power, no ſavage tyranny. The country was nearly as well in his hands as in thoſe of Charles the Second, and in ſome points much better. The laws in general had their courſe, and were admirably adminiſtered. The king did not in reality grant an act of indemnity; the prevailing power, then in a manner the nation, in effect granted an indemnity to *him*. The idea of a preceding rebellion was not at all admitted in that convention and that parliament. The regicides were a common enemy, and as ſuch given up.

Among the ornaments of their place which eminently diſtinguiſh them, few people are better acquainted with the hiſtory of their own country than the illuſtrious Princes now in exile: but I caution them not to be led into error by that which has been ſuppoſed to be the guide of life. I would give the ſame caution to all princes. Not that I derogate from the uſe of hiſtory. It is a great improver of the underſtanding, by ſhewing both men and affairs in a great variety of views. From this ſource much political wiſdom may be learned; that is, may be learned as habit, not as precept; and as an exerciſe to ſtrengthen the mind, as furniſhing materials to enlarge and enrich it, not as a repertory of caſes and precedents for a lawyer: if it were, a thouſand times

better would it be that a Statesman had never learned to read—*vellem nescirent literas*. This method turns their understanding from the object before them, and from the present exigencies of the world, to comparisons with former times, of which after all, we can know very little and very imperfectly; and our guides, the historians, who are to give us their true interpretation, are often prejudiced, often ignorant, often fonder of system than of truth. Whereas, if a man with reasonable good parts and natural sagacity, and not in the leading-strings of any master, will look steadily on the business before him, without being diverted by retrospect and comparison, he may be capable of forming a reasonable good judgement of what is to be done. There are some fundamental points in which nature never changes—but they are few and obvious, and belong rather to morals than to politics. But so far as regards political matter, the human mind and human affairs are susceptible of infinite modifications, and of combinations wholly new and unlooked for. Very few, for instance, could have imagined that property, which has been taken for natural dominion, should, through the whole of a vast kingdom, lose all its importance and even its influence. This is what history or books of speculation could hardly have taught us. How many could have thought, that the most complete and formidable revolution in a great empire should be made by men of letters, not as subordinate instruments and trumpeters of sedition, but as the chief contrivers and managers, and in a short time as the open administrators and sovereign rulers? Who could have imagined that atheism could produce one of the most violently operative principles of fanaticism? Who could have imagined, that in a commonwealth in a manner cradled in war, and in an extensive and dreadful war, military commanders should be of little or no account? That the convention should not contain one military man of name? That admi-

niſtrative bodies in a ſtate of the utmoſt confuſion, and of but a momentary duration, and compoſed of men with not one impoſing part of character, ſhould be able to govern the country and its armies, with an authority which the moſt ſettled ſenates, and the moſt reſpected monarchs ſcarcely ever had in the ſame degree? This, for one, I confeſs I did not foreſee, though all the reſt was preſent to me very early, and not out of my apprehenſion even for ſeveral years.

I believe very few were able to enter into the effects of mere *terror*, as a principle not only for the ſupport of power in given hands or forms, but in thoſe things in which the ſoundeſt political ſpeculators were of opinion, that the leaſt appearance of force would be totally deſtructive, ſuch is the market, whether of money, proviſion, or commodities of any kind. Yet for four years we have ſeen loans made, treaſuries ſupplied, and armies levied and maintained, more numerous than France ever ſhewed in the field; by the *effects of fear alone*.

Here is a ſtate of things, of which, in its totality, if hiſtory furniſhes any examples at all, they are very remote and feeble. I therefore am not ſo ready as ſome are, to tax with folly or cowardice, thoſe who were not prepared to meet an evil of this nature. Even now, after the events, all the cauſes may be ſomewhat difficult to aſcertain. Very many are however traceable. But theſe things hiſtory and books of ſpeculation (as I have already ſaid) did not teach men to foreſee, and of courſe to reſiſt. Now that they are no longer a matter of ſagacity, but of experience, of recent experience, of our own experience, it would be unjuſtifiable to go back to the records of other times, to inſtruct us to manage what they never enabled us to foreſee.——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1793.

REGICIDES (INSOLENCE OF.)

WHILST the fortune of the field was wholly with the Regicides, nothing was thought of but to follow where it led; and it led to every thing. Not ſo much as a talk of treaty. Laws were laid down with arrogance. The moſt moderate politician amongſt them* was choſen as the organ, not ſo much for preſcribing limits to their claims, as to mark what, for the preſent, they are content to leave to others. They made not laws, not Conventions, but late poſſeſſion, but phyſical nature, and political convenience the ſole foundation of their claims. The Rhine, the Mediterranean, and the ocean were the bounds which, for the time, they aſſigned to the empire of Regicide. In truth, with theſe limits, and their principle, they would not have left even the ſhadow of liberty or ſafety to any nation. This plan of empire was not taken up in the firſt intoxication of unexpected ſucceſs. You muſt recollect, that it was projected juſt as the report has ſtated it, from the very firſt revolt of the faction againſt their monarchy; and it has been uniformly purſued, as a ſtanding maxim of national policy, from that time to this. It is in the ſeaſon of proſperity that men diſcover their real tempers, principles, and deſigns. This report, combined with their conduct, forms an infallible criterion of the views of this Republic.—— *Regicide Peace.*

REASON.

It is probable that the Standard of both Reaſon and Taſte is the ſame in all human Creatures.

ON a ſuperficial view, we may ſeem to differ very widely from each other in our reaſonings, and no leſs in our pleaſures: but notwithſtanding this diffe-

* Boiſſy d'Anglas.

rence, which I think to be rather apparent, than real, it is probable that the ſtandard, both of reaſon and taſte is the ſame in all human creatures. For if there were not ſome principles of judgement as well as of ſentiment common to all mankind, no hold could poſſibly be taken either on their reaſon or their paſſions, ſufficient to maintain the ordinary correſpondence of life. It appears indeed to be generally acknowledged, that with regard to truth and falſehood there is ſomething fixed. We find people in their diſputes continually appealing to certain teſts and ſtandards, which are allowed on all ſides, and are ſuppoſed to be eſtabliſhed in our common nature. But there is not the ſame obvious concurrence in any uniform or ſettled principles which relate to taſte. It is even commonly ſuppoſed that this delicate and aërial faculty, which ſeems too volatile to endure even the chains of a definition, cannot be properly tried by any teſt, nor regulated by any ſtandard. There is ſo continual a call for the exerciſe of the reaſoning faculty, and it is ſo much ſtrengthened by perpetual contention, that certain maxims of right reaſon ſeem to be tacitly ſettled amongſt the moſt ignorant. The learned have improved on this rude ſcience, and reduced thoſe maxims into a ſyſtem. If taſte has not been ſo happily cultivated, it was not that the ſubject was barren, but that the labourers were few or negligent; for to ſay the truth, there are not the ſame intereſting motives to impel us to fix the one, which urge us to aſcertain the other. And after all, if men differ in their opinion concerning ſuch matters, their difference is not attended with the ſame important conſequences; elſe I make no doubt but that the logic of taſte, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, might very poſſibly be as well digeſted, and we might come to diſcuſs matters of this nature with as much certainty, as thoſe which ſeem more immediately within the province of mere reaſon.——*Sublime and Beautiful.*

RELIGION (CHRISTIAN.)

The French have brought the Church to a State of Poverty and Perſecution, &c.

ONE would think, that after an honeſt and neceſſary revolution, (if they had a mind that theirs ſhould paſs for ſuch) your maſters would have imitated the virtuous policy of thoſe who have been at the head of revolutions of that glorious character. Burnet tells us, that nothing tended to reconcile the Engliſh nation to the government of King William ſo much as the care he took to fill the vacant biſhoprics with men who had attracted the public eſteem by their learning, eloquence, and piety, and above all, by their known moderation in the ſtate. With you, in your purifying revolution, whom have you choſen to regulate the church? Mr. Mirabeau is a fine ſpeaker—and a fine writer—and a fine—a very fine man; but really nothing gave more ſurprize to every body here, than to find him the ſupreme head of your eccleſiaſtical affairs. The reſt is of courſe. Your aſſembly addreſſes a manifeſto to France, in which they tell the people, with an inſulting irony, that they have brought the church to its primitive condition. In one reſpect their declaration is undoubtedly true; for they have brought it to a ſtate of poverty and perſecution.—— What can be hoped for after this? Have not men (if they deſerve the name) under this new hope and head of the church, been made biſhops, for no other merit than having acted as inſtruments of atheiſts; for no other merit than having thrown the children's bread to dogs; and in order to gorge the whole gang of uſurers, pedlars, and itinerant Jew diſcounters at the corners of ſtreets, ſtarved the poor of their Chriſtian flocks, and their own brother paſtors? Have not ſuch men been made biſhops to adminiſter in temples, in which (if the patriotic donations have not already ſtripped them of their veſſels) the churchwardens ought to take ſecurity for the altar plate, and not ſo

much as to truſt the chalice in their ſacrilegious hands, ſo long as Jews have aſſignats on eccleſiaſtic plunder, to exchange for the ſilver ſtolen from churches?

I am told, that the very ſons of ſuch Jew-jobbers have been made biſhops; perſons not to be ſuſpected of any ſort of Chriſtian ſuperſtition, fit colleagues to the holy prelate of Autun; and bred at the feet of that Gamaliel. We know who it was that drove the money changers out of the temple. We ſee too who it is that brings them in again. We have in London very reſpectable perſons of the Jewiſh nation, whom we will keep; but we have of the ſame tribe others of a very different deſcription,—houſe-breakers, and receivers of ſtolen goods, and forgers of paper currency, more than we can conveniently hang. Theſe we can ſpare to France, to fill the new epiſcopal thrones: men well verſed in ſwearing; and who will ſcruple no oath which the fertile genius of any of your reformers can deviſe.

In matters ſo ridiculous, it is hard to be grave. On a view of their conſequences it is almoſt inhuman to treat them lightly. To what a ſtate of ſavage, ſtupid, ſervile inſenſibility muſt your people be reduced, who can endure ſuch proceedings in their church, their ſtate, and their judicature, even for a moment! But the deluded people of France are like other madmen, who, to a miracle, bear hunger, and thirſt, and cold, and confinement, and the chains and laſh of their keeper, whilſt all the while they ſupport themſelves by the imagination that they are generals of armies, prophets, kings, and emperors. As to a change of mind in theſe men, who conſider infamy as honour, degradation as preferment, bondage to low tyrants as liberty, and the practical ſcorn and contumely of their upſtart maſters, as marks of reſpect and homage, I look upon it as abſolutely impracticable. Theſe madmen, to be cured, muſt firſt, like other madmen, be ſubdued. The ſound part of the community, which I believe to be large, but by

no means the largeſt part, has been taken by ſurpriſe, and is disjointed, terrified, and diſarmed. That ſound part of the community muſt firſt be put into a better condition, before it can do any thing in the way of deliberation or of perſuaſion. This muſt be an act of power, as well as of wiſdom; of power, in the hands of firm, determined patriots, who can diſtinguiſh the miſled from traitors, who will regulate the ſtate (if ſuch ſhould be their fortune) with a diſcriminating, manly, and provident mercy; men who are purged of the ſurfeit and indigeſtion of ſyſtems, if ever they have been admitted into the habits of their minds; men who will lay the foundation of a real reform, in effacing every veſtige of that philoſophy which pretends to have made diſcoveries in the *terra auſtralis* of morality; men who will fix the ſtate upon theſe baſes of morals and politics, which are our old, and immemorial, and, I hope, will be our eternal poſſeſſion.

This power, to ſuch men, muſt come from *without*. It may be given to you in pity; for ſurely no nation ever called ſo pathetically on the compaſſion of all its neighbours. It may be given by thoſe neighbours on motives of ſafety to themſelves. Never ſhall I think any country in Europe to be ſecure, whilſt there is eſtabliſhed, in the very centre of it, a ſtate (if ſo it may be called) founded on principles of anarchy, and which is, in reality, a college of armed fanatics, for the propagation of the principles of aſſaſſination, robbery, rebellion, fraud, faction, oppreſſion, and impiety. Mahomet, hid, as for a time he was, in the bottom of the ſands of Arabia, had his ſpirit and character been diſcovered, would have been an object of precaution to provident minds. What if he had erected his frantic ſtandard for the deſtruction of the Chriſtian religion in *luce Aſiæ*, in the midſt of the then noon-day ſplendor of the then civilized world? The princes of Europe, in the beginning of this century, did well not to ſuffer the monarchy of France to ſwallow up the others. They

ought not now, in my opinion, to ſuffer all the monarchies and commonwealths to be ſwallowed up in the gulph of this polluted anarchy. They may be tolerably ſafe at preſent, becauſe the comparative power of France for the preſent is little. But times and occaſions make dangers. Inteſtine troubles may ariſe in other countries. There is a power always on the watch, qualified and diſpoſed to profit of every conjuncture, to eſtabliſh its own principles and modes of miſchief, wherever it can hope for ſucceſs. What mercy would theſe uſurpers have on other ſovereigns, and on other nations, when they treat their own king with ſuch unparalleled indignities, and ſo cruelly oppreſs their own countrymen?——*Letter to a Member of the National Aſſembly.*

RECESS (PARLIAMENTARY.)

In England, we *cannot* work ſo hard as Frenchmen. Frequent relaxation is neceſſary to us. You are naturally more intenſe in your application. I did not know this part of your national character, until I went into France in 1773. At preſent, this your diſpoſition to labour is rather increaſed than leſſened. In your aſſembly you do not allow yourſelves a receſs even on Sundays. We have two days in the week, beſides the feſtivals; and beſides five or ſix months of the ſummer and autumn. This continued unremitted effort of the members of your aſſembly, I take to be one among the cauſes of the miſchief they have done. They who always labour, can have no true judgment. You never give yourſelves time to cool. You can never ſurvey, from its proper point of ſight, the work you have finiſhed, before you decree its final execution. You can never plan the future by the paſt. You never go into the country, ſober and diſpaſſionately to obſerve the effect of your meaſures on their objects. You

cannot feel diſtinctly how far the people are rendered better and improved, or more miſerable and depraved, by what you have done. You cannot ſee with your own eyes the ſufferings and afflictions you cauſe. You know them but at a diſtance, on the ſtatements of thoſe who always flatter the reigning power, and who, amidſt their repreſentations of the grievances, inflame your minds againſt thoſe who are oppreſſed. Theſe are amongſt the effects of unremitted labour, when men exhauſt their attention, burn out their candles, and are left in the dark. *Malo meorum negligentiam, quam iſtorum obſcuram diligentiam.*——*Ibid.*

RULERS (FRENCH).

YOUR rulers brought forth a ſet of men, ſteaming from the ſweat and drudgery, and all black with the ſmoak and ſoot of the forge of confiſcation and robbery—*ardentis maſſæ fuligine lippos*—a ſet of men brought forth from the trade of hammering arms of proof, offenſive and defenſive, in aid of the enterprizes, and for the ſubſequent protection of houſe-breakers, murderers, traitors, and malefactors; men who had their minds ſeaſoned with theories perfectly conformable to their practice, and who had always laughed at poſſeſſion and preſcription, and defied all the fundamental maxims of juriſprudence, to the horror and ſtupefaction of all the honeſt part of this nation, and indeed of all nations who are ſpectators, we have ſeen, on the credit of thoſe very practices and principles, and to carry them further into effect, theſe very men placed on the ſacred ſeat of juſtice in the capital city of your late kingdom; we ſee, that in future, you are to be deſtroyed with more form and regularity. This is not peace; it is only the introduction of a ſort of diſcipline in their hoſtility; their tyranny is complete in their juſtice; and their lanthorn is not half ſo dreadful as their court.

One would think, that out of common decency, they would have given you men who had not been in the habit of trampling upon law and juſtice in the Aſſembly, natural men, or men apparently natural, for Judges, who are to diſpoſe of your lives and fortunes.——*Ibid.*

REVENUE (FRENCH.)

I SHALL now ſay ſomething of the ability ſhewed by your legiſlators with regard to the revenue.

In their proceedings relative to this object, if poſſible, ſtill fewer traces appear of political judgment or financial reſource. When the ſtates met, it ſeemed to be the great object to improve the ſyſtem of revenue, to enlarge its connexion, to cleanſe it of oppreſſion and vexation, and to eſtabliſh it on the moſt ſolid footing. Great were the expectations entertained on that head throughout Europe. It was by this grand arrangement that France was to ſtand or fall; and this became, in my opinion, very properly, the teſt by which the ſkill and patriotiſm of thoſe who ruled in that aſſembly would be tried. The revenue of the ſtate is the ſtate. In effect all depends upon it, whether for ſupport or for reformation. The dignity of every occupation wholly depends upon the quantity and the kind of virtue that may be exerted in it. As all great qualities of the mind which operate in public, and are not merely ſuffering and paſſive, require force for their diſplay, I had almoſt ſaid for their unequivocal exiſtence, the revenue, which is the ſpring of all power, becomes in its adminiſtration the ſphere of every active virtue. Public virtue, being of a nature magnificent and ſplendid, inſtituted for great things, and converſant about great concerns, requires abundant ſcope and room, and cannot ſpread and grow under confinement, and in circumſtances ſtraitened, narrow,

and fordid. Through the revenue alone, the body politic can act in its true genius and character, and therefore it will display just as much of its collective virtue, and as much of that virtue which may characterise those who move it, and are, as it were, its life and guiding principle, as it is possessed of a just revenue. For from hence not only magnanimity, and liberality, and beneficence, and fortitude, and providence, and the tutelary protection of all good arts, derive their food, and the growth of their organs, but continence, and self-denial, and labour, and vigilance, and frugality, and whatever else there is in which the mind shews itself above the appetite, are no where more in their proper element than in the provision and distribution of the public wealth. It is therefore not without reason that the science of speculative and practical finance, which must take to its aid so many auxiliary branches of knowledge, stands high in the estimation not only of the ordinary sort, but of the wisest and best men; and as this science has grown with the progress of its object, the prosperity and improvement of nations has generally encreased with the encrease of their revenues; and they will both continue to grow and flourish, as long as the balance between what is left to strengthen the efforts of individuals, and what is collected for the common efforts of the state, bear to each other a due reciprocal proportion, and are kept in a close correspondence and communication. And perhaps it may be owing to the greatness of revenues, and to the urgency of state necessities, that old abuses in the constitution of finances are discovered, and their true nature and rational theory comes to be more perfectly understood; insomuch, that a smaller revenue might have been more distressing in one period than a far greater is found to be in another; the proportionate wealth even remaining the same.—*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

RUIN (NATIONAL.)

The French ſtiled the ableſt Architects of.

THE French have ſhewn themſelves the ableſt architects of ruin that have hitherto exiſted in the world. In that very ſhort ſpace of time they have completely pulled down to the ground, their monarchy; their church; their nobility; their law; their revenue; their army; their navy; their commerce; their arts; and their manufactures. They have done their buſineſs for us as rivals, in a way in which twenty Ramilies or Blenheims could never have done it. Were we abſolute conquerors, and France to lie proſtrate at our feet, we ſhould be aſhamed to ſend a commiſſion to ſettle their affairs, which could impoſe ſo hard a law upon the French, and ſo deſtructive of all their conſequence as a nation, as that they have impoſed upon themſelves.—*Speech on the Army Eſtimates.*

RUSSEL (HOUSE OF.)

Mr. Burke contraſts his own Merit with that of the Founder of the Houſe of Ruſſel.

THE merit of the origin of his Grace's (Bedford) fortune was in being a favourite and chief adviſer to a prince, who left no liberty to their native country. My endeavour was to obtain liberty for the municipal country in which I was born, and for all deſcriptions and denominations in it.—Mine was to ſupport with unrelaxing vigilance every right, every privilege, every franchiſe, in this my adopted, my dearer and more comprehenſive country; and not only to preſerve thoſe rights in this chief ſeat of empire, but in every nation, in every land, in every climate, language and religion, in the vaſt domain that ſtill is under the protection, and the larger that was once under the protection, of the Britiſh crown.

His founder's merits were, by arts in which he ſerved his maſter and made his fortune, to bring po-

verty, wretchedneſs and depopulation on his country. Mine were under a benevolent prince, in promoting the commerce, manufactures and agriculture of his kingdom; in which his majeſty ſhews an eminent example, who even in his amuſements is a patriot, and in hours of leiſure an improver of his native ſoil.

His founder's merit, was the merit of a gentleman raiſed by the arts of a court, and the protection of a Wolſey, to the eminence of a great and potent lord. His merit in that eminence was by inſtigating a tyrant to injuſtice, to provoke a people to rebellion.—— My merit was, to awaken the ſober part of the country, that they might put themſelves on their guard againſt any one potent lord, or any greater number of potent lords, or any combination of great leading men of any ſort, if ever they ſhould attempt to proceed in the ſame courſes, but in the reverſe order, that is, by inſtigating a corrupt populace to rebellion, and, through that rebellion, ſhould introduce a tyranny yet worſe than the tyranny which his Grace's anceſtor ſupported, and of which he profited in the manner we behold in the deſpotiſm of Henry the Eighth.

The political merit of the firſt penſioner of his Grace's houſe, was that of being concerned as a counſellor of ſtate in adviſing, and in his perſon executing the conditions of a diſhonourable peace with France; the ſurrendering the fortreſs of Boulogne, then our out guard on the continent. By that ſurrender, Calais, the key of France, and the bridle in the mouth of that power, was, not many years afterwards, finally loſt. My merit has been in reſiſting the power and pride of France, under any form of it's rule; but in oppoſing it with the greateſt zeal and earneſtneſs, when that rule appeared in the worſt form it could aſſume; the worſt indeed which the prime cauſe and principle of all evil could poſſibly give it. It was my endeavour by every means to excite a ſpirit in the houſe, where I had the honour of

a ſeat, for carrying on with early vigour and deciſion, the moſt clearly juſt and neceſſary war, that this or any nation ever carried on; in order to ſave my country from the iron yoke of it's power, and from the more dreadful contagion of its principles; to preſerve, while they can be preſerved pure and untainted, the ancient, inbred integrity, piety, good nature, and good humour of the people of England, from the dreadful peſtilence which beginning in France, threatens to lay waſte the whole moral, and in a great degree the whole phyſical world, having done both in the focus of it's moſt intenſe malignity.

The labours of his Grace's founder merited the curſes, not loud but deep, of the Commons of England, on whom *he* and his maſter had effected a *complete parliamentary reform*, in making them in their ſlavery and humiliation, the true and adequate repreſentatives of a debaſed, degraded, and undone people. My merits were, in having had an active, though not always an oſtentatious ſhare, in every one act, without exception, of undiſputed conſtitutional utility in my time, and in having ſupported on all occaſions, the authority, the efficiency, and the privileges of the Commons of Great Britain. I ended my ſervices by a recorded and fully reaſoned aſſertion on their own journals of their conſtitutional rights, and a vindication of their conſtitutional conduct. I laboured in all things to merit their inward approbation, and (along with the aſſiſtants of the largeſt, the greateſt, and beſt of my endeavours) I received their free, unbiaſſed, public, and ſolemn thanks.

Thus ſtands the account of the comparative merits of the crown grants which compoſe the duke of Bedford's fortune as balanced againſt mine. In the name of common ſenſe, why ſhould the duke of Bedford think, that none but of the houſe of Ruſſel are entitled to the favour of the crown? Why ſhould he imagine that no king of England has been capable of judging of merit but king Henry the Eighth? Indeed,

he will pardon me; he is a little miſtaken; all virtue did not end in the firſt earl of Bedford. All diſcernment did not loſe its viſion when his creator cloſed his eyes. Let him remit his rigour on the diſproportion between merit and reward in others, and they will make no enquiry into the origin of his fortune. They will regard with much more ſatisfaction, as he will contemplate with infinitely more advantage, whatever in his pedigree has been dulcified by an expoſure to the influence of heaven in a long flow of generations, from the hard, acidulous, metallic tincture of the ſpring. It is little to be doubted, that ſeveral of his forefathers in that long ſeries, have degenerated into honour and virtue. Let the duke of Bedford (I am ſure he will) reject with ſcorn and horror, the counſels of the lecturers, thoſe wicked panders to avarice and ambition, who would tempt him in the troubles of his country, to ſeek another enormous fortune from the forfeitures of another nobility, and the plunder of another church. Let him (and I truſt that yet he will) employ all the energy of his youth, and all the reſources of his wealth, to cruſh rebellious principles which have no foundation in morals, and rebellious movements, that have no provocation in tyranny.

Then will be forgot the rebellions, which, by a doubtful priority in crime, his anceſtor had provoked and extinguiſhed. On ſuch a conduct in the noble duke, many of his countrymen might, and with ſome excuſe might, give way to the enthuſiaſm of their gratitude, and in the daſhing ſtyle of ſome of the old declaimers, cry out, that if the fates had found no other way in which they could give a* duke of Bedford and his opulence as props to a tottering world, then the butchery of the duke of Buckingham might be tolerated; it might be regarded even with complacency, whilſt in the heir of confiſcation they

* At ſi non aliam ventura fata Neroni, &c.

ſaw the ſympathizing comforter of the martyrs, who ſuffer under the cruel confiſcation of this day; whilſt they beheld with admiration his zealous protection of the virtuous and loyal nobility of France, and his manly ſupport of his brethren, the yet ſtanding nobility and gentry of his native land. Then his Grace's merit would be pure and new, and ſharp as freſh from the mint of honour. As he pleaſed he might reflect honour on his predeceſſors, or throw it forward on thoſe who were to ſucceed him. He might be the propagater of the ſtock of honour, or the root of it, as he thought proper.——*Letter to a noble Lord.*

REFORMAMION.

Short View of the Reformation.

GENTLEMEN, the condition of our nature is ſuch, that we buy our bleſſings at a price. The Reformation, one of the greateſt periods of human improvement, was a time of trouble and confuſion. The vaſt ſtructure of ſuperſtition and tyranny, which had been for ages in rearing, and which was combined with the intereſt of the great and of the many; which was moulded into the laws, the manners, and civil inſtitutions of nations, and blended with the frame and policy of ſtates; could not be brought to the ground without a fearful ſtruggle; nor could it fall without a violent concuſſion of itſelf and all about it. When this great revolution was attempted in a more regular mode by government, it was oppoſed by plots and ſeditions of the people; when by popular efforts, it was repreſſed as rebellion by the hand of power; and bloody executions (often bloodily returned) marked the whole of its progreſs through all its ſtages. The affairs of religion, which are no longer heard of in the tumult of our preſent contentions, made a principal ingredient in the wars and politics of that time; the enthuſiaſm of religion threw a gloom over the politics; and political intereſts poiſoned and perverted

the ſpirit of religion upon all ſides. The Proteſtant religion in that violent ſtruggle, infected, as the Popiſh had been before, by worldly intereſts and worldly paſſions, became a perſecutor in its turn, ſometimes of the new ſects, which carried their own principles further than it was convenient to the original reformers; and always of the body from whom they parted; and this perſecuting ſpirit aroſe, not only, from the bitterneſs of retaliation, but from the mercileſs policy of fear.

It was long before the ſpirit of true piety and true wiſdom, involved in the principles of the Reformation, could be depurated from the dregs and feculence of the contention with which it was carried through. However, until this be done, the Reformation is not complete; and thoſe who think themſelves good Proteſtants, from their animoſity to others, are, in that reſpect, no Proteſtants at all. It was at firſt thought neceſſary, perhaps, to oppoſe to Popery another Popery, to get the better of it. Whatever was the cauſe, laws were made in many countries, and in this kingdom in particular, againſt Papiſts, which are as bloody as any of thoſe which had been enacted by the popiſh princes and ſtates; and where thoſe laws were not bloody, in my opinion, they were worſe; as they were ſlow, cruel outrages on our nature, and kept men alive only to inſult in their perſons, every one of the rights and feelings of humanity. I paſs thoſe ſtatutes, becauſe I would ſpare your pious ears the repetition of ſuch ſhocking things.—*Speech at Briſtol previous to the Election.*

ROYAL NEGATIVE.

THE king's negative to bills is one of the moſt indiſputed of the royal prerogatives; and it extends to all caſes whatſoever.——*Letter to the Sheriffs of Briſtol.*

SAXONY.

French Principles in that Country.

POLAND, with the Elector of Saxony, will contribute moſt to ſtrengthen the Royal authority of Poland, or to ſhake the Ducal in Saxony. The Elector is a Catholic; the people of Saxony are, ſix-ſevenths at the very leaſt, Proteſtants. He *muſt* continue a Catholic, according to the Poliſh law, if he accepts that crown. The pride of the Saxons, formerly flattered by having a crown in the Houſe of their Prince, though an honour which coſt them dear; the German probity, fidelity, and loyalty; the weight of the conſtitution of the Empire under the Treaty of Weſtphalia; the good temper and good nature of the Princes of the Houſe of Saxony; had formerly removed from the people all apprehenſion with regard to their religion, and kept them perfectly quiet, obedient, and even affectionate. The ſeven years war made ſome change in the minds of the Saxons. They did not, I believe, regret the loſs of what might be conſidered almoſt as the ſucceſſion to the Crown of Poland, the poſſeſſion of which, by annexing them to a foreign intereſt, had often obliged them to act an arduous part, towards the ſupport of which that foreign intereſt afforded no proportionable ſtrength. In this very delicate ſituation of their political intereſts, the ſpeculations of the French and German *Oeconomiſts*, and the cabals, and the ſecret as well as public doctrines of the *Illuminatenordens* and *Freemaſons*, have made a conſiderable progreſs in that country, and a turbulent ſpirit, under colour of religion, but in reality ariſing from the French Rights of Man, has already ſhewn itſelf, and is ready on every occaſion to blaze out.——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

SITUATION.

THE ſituation of man, is the preceptor of his duty. ——*Speech on Mr. Fox's Eaſt-India Bill.*

SALARY.

A Security againſt Avarice and Rapacity.

I WILL even go ſo far as to affirm, that if men were willing to ſerve in ſuch ſituations (offices of ſtate) without ſalary, they ought not to be permitted to do it. Ordinary ſervice muſt be ſecured by the motives to ordinary integrity. I do not heſitate to ſay that, that ſtate which lays its foundation in rare and heroic virtues, will be ſure to have its ſuperſtructure in the baſeſt profligacy and corruption. An honourable and fair profit is the beſt ſecurity againſt avarice and rapacity; as in all things elſe, a lawful and regulated enjoyment is the beſt ſecurity againſt debauchery and exceſs. For as wealth is power, ſo all power will infallibly draw wealth to itſelf by ſome means or other; and when men are left no way of aſcertaining their profits but by their means of obtaining them, thoſe means will be increaſed to infinity.—*Oecon. Reform.*

SECRETARY OF STATE.

A Secretary of State muſt not appear ſordid in the eyes of the Miniſters of other nations.—*Oeconomical Reform.*

SOCIETY.

THE retrogate order of ſociety has ſomething flattering to the diſpoſitions of mankind.—*Letter to a Member of the National Aſſembly.*

SOCIETY

A Contract.

SOCIETY is indeed a contract. Subordinate contracts for objects of more occaſional intereſt may be depoſited at pleaſure, but the ſtate ought not to be conſidered as nothing better than a partnerſhip agreement in a trade of pepper and coffee, calico or to-

bacco, or ſome other ſuch low concern, to be taken up for a little temporary intereſt, and to be diſſolved by the fancy of the parties. It is to be looked on with other reverence; becauſe it is not a partnerſhip in things ſubſervient only to the groſs animal exiſtence of a temporary and periſhable nature. It is a partnerſhip in all ſcience; a partnerſhip in all art; a partnerſhip in every virtue, and in all perfection. As the ends of ſuch a partnerſhip cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnerſhip not only between thoſe who are living, but between thoſe who are living, thoſe who are dead, and thoſe who are to be born. Each contract of each particular ſtate is but a clauſe in the great primæval contract of eternal ſociety, linking the lower with the higher natures, connecting the viſible and inviſible world, according to a fixed compact ſanctioned by the inviolable oath which holds all phyſical and all moral natures, each in their appointed place. This law is not ſubject to the will of thoſe, who by an obligation above them, and infinitely ſuperior, are bound to ſubmit their will to that law. The municipal corporations of that univerſal kingdom are not morally at liberty at their pleaſure, and on their ſpeculations of a contingent improvement, wholly to ſeparate and tear aſunder the bands of their ſubordinate community, and to diſſolve it into an unſocial, uncivil, unconnected chaos of elementary principles. It is the firſt and ſupreme neceſſity only, a neceſſity that is not choſen but chooſes, a neceſſity paramount to deliberation, that admits no diſcuſſion, and demands no evidence, which alone can juſtify a reſort to anarchy. This neceſſity is no exception to the rule; becauſe this neceſſity itſelf is a part too of that moral and phyſical diſpoſition of things to which man muſt be obedient by conſent or force; but if that which is only ſubmiſſion to neceſſity ſhould be made the object of choice, the law is broken, nature is diſobeyed, and the rebellious are outlawed, caſt forth,

and exiled, from this world of reaſon, and order, and peace, and virtue, and fruitful penitence, into the antagoniſt world of madneſs, diſcord, vice, confuſion, and unavailing ſorrow.—*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

SOCIETY.

Origin of Laws in civil Society, and Difficulties ariſing thereon.

We found, or we thought we found, an inconvenience in having every man the judge of his own cauſe. Therefore judges were ſet up, at firſt with diſcretionary powers. But it was ſoon found a miſerable ſlavery to have our lives and properties precarious, and hanging upon the arbitrary determination of any one man, or ſet of men. We flew to laws as a remedy for this evil. By theſe we perſuaded ourſelves we might know with ſome certainty upon what ground we ſtood. But lo! differences aroſe upon the ſenſe and interpretation of theſe laws. Thus we were brought back to our old incertitude. New laws were made to expound the old; and new difficulties aroſe upon the new laws; as words multiplied, opportunities of cavilling upon them multiplied alſo. Then recourſe was had to notes, comments, gloſſes, reports, *reſponſa prudentum*, learned readings: eagle ſtood againſt eagle; authority was ſet up againſt authority. Some were allured by the modern, others reverenced the ancient. The new were more enlightened, the old were more venerable. Some adopted the comments, others ſtuck to the text. The confuſion encreaſed, the miſt thickened, until it could be diſcovered no longer what was allowed or forbidden, what things were in property, and what common. In this uncertainty, (uncertain even to the profeſſors, an Ægyptian darkneſs to the reſt of mankind) the contending parties felt themſelves more effectually ruined by the delay than they

could have been by the injuſtice of any deciſion. Our inheritances are become a prize for diſputation; and diſputes and litigations are become an inheritance.——*Vindication of Natural Society.*

SOCIETY.

Artificial Diviſion of Mankind into ſeparate Societies a perpetual Source of Hatred.

It is no leſs worth obſerving, that this artificial diviſion of mankind, into ſeparate ſocieties, is a perpetual ſource in itſelf of hatred and diſſention among them. The names which diſtinguiſh them are enough to blow up hatred and rage. Examine hiſtory; conſult preſent experience; and you will find, that far the greater part of the quarrels between ſeveral nations were different combinations of people, and called by different names;—to an Engliſhman the name of a Frenchman, a Spaniard, an Italian, much more a Turk, or a Tartar, raiſe of courſe ideas of hatred, and contempt. If you would inſpire this compatriot of ours with pity or regard, for one of theſe, would you not hide that diſtinction? You would not pray him to compaſſionate the poor Frenchman, or the unhappy German. Far from it; you would ſpeak of him as a *foreigner*, an accident to which all are liable. You would repreſent him as a *man;* one partaking with us of the ſame common nature, and ſubject to the ſame law. There is ſomething ſo averſe from our nature in theſe artificial political diſtinctions, that we need no other trumpet to kindle us to war and deſtruction. But there is ſomething ſo benign and healing in the general voice of humanity, that maugre all our regulations to prevent it, the ſimple name of man applied properly, never fails to work a ſalutary effect.——*Ibid.*

SOCIETY.

The moſt obvious Diviſion of Society into rich and poor. State of the latter deſcribed. (*See* RICH.)

THE moſt obvious diviſion of ſociety is into rich and poor; and it is no leſs obvious, that the number of the former bear a great diſproportion to thoſe of the latter. The whole buſineſs of the poor is to adminiſter to the idleneſs, folly, and luxury of the rich; and that of the rich, in return, is to find the beſt methods of confirming the ſlavery and increaſing the burthens of the poor. In a ſtate of nature, it is an invariable law, that a man's acquiſitions are in proportion to his labours. In a ſtate of artificial ſociety, it is a law as conſtant and as invariable, that thoſe who labour moſt, enjoy the feweſt things; and that thoſe who labour not at all, have the greateſt number of enjoyments. A conſtitution of things this, ſtrange and ridiculous beyond expreſſion. We ſcarce believe a thing when we are told it, which we actually ſee before our eyes every day without being in the leaſt ſurprized. I ſuppoſe that there are in Great-Britain upwards of an hundred thouſand people employed in lead, tin, iron, copper, and coal mines; theſe unhappy wretches ſcarce ever ſee the light of the ſun; they are buried in the bowels of the earth; there they work at a ſevere and diſmal taſk, without the leaſt proſpect of being delivered from it; they ſubſiſt upon the coarſeſt and worſt ſort of fare; they have their health miſerably impaired, and their lives cut ſhort, by being perpetually confined in the cloſe vapour of theſe malignant minerals. An hundred thouſand more at leaſt are tortured without remiſſion by the ſuffocating ſmoak, intenſe fires, and conſtant drudgery neceſſary in refining and managing the products of thoſe mines. If any man informed us that two hundred thouſand innocent perſons were condemned to ſo intolerable ſlavery, how ſhould we pity the unhappy ſufferers, and how great would be

our juſt indignation againſt thoſe who inflicted ſo cruel and ignominious a puniſhment? This is an inſtance, I could not wiſh a ſtronger, of the numberleſs things which we paſs by in their common dreſs, yet which ſhock us when they are nakedly repreſented. But this number, conſiderable as it is, and the ſlavery, with all its baſeneſs and horror, which we have at home, is nothing to what the reſt of the world affords of the ſame nature. Millions daily bathed in the poiſonous damps and deſtructive effluvia of lead, ſilver, copper, and arſenic. To ſay nothing of thoſe other employments, thoſe ſtations of wretchedneſs and contempt in which civil ſociety has placed the numerous *enfans perdus* of her army. ——*Ibid.*

SOCIETY.

Natural and Artificial Society defined.

In the ſtate of nature, without queſtion, mankind was ſubjected to many and great inconveniencies. Want of union, want of mutual aſſiſtance, want of a common arbitrator to reſort to in their differences. Theſe were evils which they could not but have felt pretty ſeverely on many occaſions. The original children of the earth lived with their brethren of the other kinds in much equality. Their diet muſt have been confined almoſt wholly to the vegetable kind; and the ſame tree, which in its flouriſhing ſtate produced them berries, in its decay gave them an habitation. The mutual deſires of the ſexes uniting their bodies and affections, and the children, which were the reſults of theſe intercourſes, introduced firſt the notion of ſociety, and taught its conveniencies. This ſociety, founded in natural appetites and inſtincts, and not in any poſitive inſtitution, I ſhall call *natural ſociety*. Thus far nature went and ſucceeded; but man would go farther. The great error of our nature is, not to know where to ſtop,

not to be ſatisfied with any reaſonable acquirement; not to compound with our condition; but to loſe all we have gained by an inſatiable purſuit after more. Man found a conſiderable advantage by this union of many perſons to form one family; he therefore judged that he would find his account proportionably in an union of many families into one body politic. And as nature has formed no bond of union to hold them together, he ſupplied this defect by *laws*.

This is *political ſociety*. And hence the ſources of what are uſually called ſtates, civil ſocieties, or governments; into ſome form of which, more extended or reſtrained, all mankind have gradually fallen.—*Ibid.*

SOCIETY.

Requires that the Paſſions ſhould be ſubjected.

SOCIETY requires not only that the paſſions of individuals ſhould be ſubjected, but that even in the mass and body as well as in the individuals, the inclinations of men ſhould frequently be thwarted, their will controlled, and their paſſions brought into ſubjection. This can only be done *by a power out of themſelves*; and not, in the exerciſe of its function, ſubject to that will and to thoſe paſſions which it is its office to bridle and ſubdue. In this ſenſe the reſtraints on men, as well as their liberties, are to be reckoned among their rights. But as the liberties and the reſtrictions vary with times and circumſtances, and admit of infinite modifications, they cannot be ſettled upon any abſtract rule; and nothing is ſo fooliſh as to diſcuſs them upon that principle.—*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

SOCIETY, (POLITICAL.)

Juſtly chargeable with much the greateſt part of the Deſtruction of the Species.

To give the faireſt play to every ſide of the queſtion, I will own that there is a haughtineſs, and fierce-

neſs in human nature, which will cauſe innumerable broils, place men in what ſituation you pleaſe; but owning this, I ſtill inſiſt in charging it to political regulations, that theſe broils are ſo frequent, ſo cruel, and attended with conſequences ſo deplorable. In a ſtate of nature, it had been impoſſible to find a number of men, ſufficient for ſuch ſlaughters, agreed in the ſame bloody purpoſe; or allowing that they might have come to ſuch an agreement, (an impoſſible ſuppoſition) yet the means that ſimple nature has ſupplied them with, are by no means adequate to ſuch an end; many ſcratches, many bruiſes undoubtedly would be received upon all hands; but only a few, a very few deaths. Society, and politics, which have given us theſe deſtructive views, have given us alſo the means of ſatisfying them. From the earlieſt dawnings of policy to this day, the invention of men has been ſharpening and improving the myſtery of murder, from the firſt rude eſſays of clubs and ſtones, to the preſent perfection of gunnery, cannoneering, bombarding, mining, and all theſe ſpecies of artificial, learned, and refined cruelty, in which we are now ſo expert, and which make a principal part of what politicians have taught us to believe is our principal glory.

How far mere nature would have carried us, we may judge by the example of thoſe animals, who ſtill follow her laws, and even of thoſe to whom ſhe has given diſpoſitions more fierce, and arms more terrible than ever ſhe intended we ſhould uſe. It is an inconteſtible truth, that there is more havock made in one year by men, of men, than has been made by all the lions, tygers, panthers, ounces, leopards, hyenas, rhinoceroſes, elephants, bears, and wolves, upon their ſeveral ſpecies, ſince the beginning of the world; though theſe agree ill enough with each other, and have a much greater proportion of rage and fury in their compoſition than we have. But with reſpect to you, ye legiſlators, ye civilizers of mankind! ye

Orpheuſes, Moſeſes, Minoſes, Solons, Theſeuſes, Lycurguſes, Numas! with reſpect to you be it ſpoken, your regulations have done more miſchief in cold blood, than all the rage of the fierceſt animals in their greateſt terrors, or furies, has ever done, or ever could do!——*Vindication of Natural Society.*

SOCIETIES (POPULAR.)

Remarks on the Conſtitutional and Revolution Societies.

I certainly have the honour to belong to more clubs than one, in which the conſtitution of this kingdom, and the principles of the glorious revolution are held in high reverence: and I reckon myſelf among the moſt forward in my zeal for maintaining that conſtitution and thoſe principles in the utmoſt purity and vigour. It is becauſe I do ſo, that I think it neceſſary for me, that there ſhould be no miſtake. Thoſe who cultivate the memory of our revolution, and thoſe who are attached to the conſtitution of this kingdom, will take good care how they are involved with perſons who, under the pretext of zeal towards the revolution and conſtitution, too frequently wander from their true principles; and are ready, on every occaſion, to depart from the firm, but cautious and deliberate ſpirit which produced the one, and which preſides in the other. Before I proceed to anſwer the more material particulars in your letter, I ſhall beg leave to give you ſuch information as I have been able to obtain of the two clubs which have thought proper, as bodies, to interfere in the concerns of France; firſt aſſuring you, that I am not, and that I have never been, a member of either of thoſe ſocieties.

The firſt, calling itſelf the Conſtitutional Society, or Society for Conſtitutional Information, or by ſome ſuch title, is, I believe, of ſeven or eight years ſtanding. The inſtitution of this ſociety appears to be of a charitable, and ſo far of a laudable, nature: it was intended for the circulation, at the expence of the

members, of many books, which few others would be at the expence of buying; and which might lie on the hands of the bookſellers, to the great loſs of an uſeful body of men. Whether the books ſo charitably circulated, were ever as charitably read, is more than I know. Poſſibly ſeveral of them have been exported to France; and, like goods not in requeſt here, may with you have found a market. I have heard much talk of the lights to be drawn from books that are ſent from hence. What improvements they have had in their paſſage (as it is ſaid ſome liquors are meliorated by croſſing the ſea) I cannot tell: but I never heard a man of common judgment, or the leaſt degree of information, ſpeak a word in praiſe of the greater part of the publications circulated by that ſociety; nor have their proceedings been accounted, except by ſome of themſelves, as of any ſerious conſequence.

Your national aſſembly ſeems to entertain much the ſame opinion that I do of this poor charitable club. As a nation, you reſerved the whole ſtock of your eloquent acknowledgments for the Revolution Society; when their fellows in the Conſtitutional were, in equity, entitled to ſome ſhare. Since you have ſelected the Revolution Society as the great object of your national thanks and praiſes, you will think me excuſeable in making its late conduct the ſubject of my obſervations. The national aſſembly of France has given importance to theſe gentlemen by adopting them; and they return the favour, by acting as a committee in England for extending the principles of the national aſſembly. Henceforward we muſt conſider them as a kind of privileged perſons; as no inconſiderable members in the diplomatic body. This is one among the revolutions which have given ſplendor to obſcurity, and diſtinction to undiſcerned merit. Until very lately I do not recollect to have heard of this club. I am quite ſure that it never occupied a moment of my thoughts;

nor, I believe, thoſe of any perſon out of their own ſet. I find, upon enquiry, that on the anniverſary of the revolution in 1688, a club of diſſenters, but of what denomination I know not, have long had the cuſtom of hearing a ſermon in one of their churches; and that afterwards they ſpent the day cheerfully, as other clubs do, at the tavern. But I never heard that any public meaſure, or political ſyſtem, much leſs that the merits of the conſtitution of any foreign nation, had been the ſubject of a formal proceeding at their feſtivals; until, to my inexpreſſible ſurprize, I found them in a ſort of public capacity, by a congratulatory addreſs, giving an authoritative ſanction to the proceedings of the national aſſembly in France.

In the antient principles and conduct of the club, ſo far at leaſt as they were declared, I ſee nothing to which I could take exception. I think it very probable, that for ſome purpoſe, new members may have entered among them; and that ſome truly chriſtian politicians, who love to diſpenſe benefits, but are careful to conceal the hand which diſtributes the dole, may have made them the inſtruments of their pious deſigns. Whatever I may have reaſon to ſuſpect concerning private management, I ſhall ſpeak of nothing as of a certainty but what is public.

For one, I ſhould be ſorry to be thought, directly or indirectly, concerned in their proceedings. I certainly take my full ſhare, along with the reſt of the world, in my individual and private capacity, in ſpeculating on what has been done, or is doing, on the public ſtage; in any place antient or modern; in the republic of Rome, or the republic of Paris: but having no general apoſtolical miſſion, being a citizen of a particular ſtate, and being bound up in a conſiderable degree, by its public will, I ſhould think it at leaſt improper and irregular for me to open a formal public correſpondence with the actual government of a foreign nation, without the expreſs authority of the government under which I live.

I ſhould be ſtill more unwilling to enter into that correſpondence, under any thing like an equivocal deſcription, which to many, unacquainted with our uſages, might make the addreſs, in which I joined, appear as the act of perſons in ſome ſort of corporate capacity, acknowledged by the laws of this kingdom, and authorized to ſpeak the ſenſe of ſome part of it. On account of the ambiguity and uncertainty of unauthorized general deſcriptions, and of the deceit which may be practiſed under them, and not from mere formality, the Houſe of Commons would reject the moſt ſneaking petition for the moſt trifling object, under that mode of ſignature to which you have thrown open the folding-doors of your preſence chamber, and have uſhered into your National Aſſembly, with as much ceremony and parade, and with as great a buſtle of applauſe, as if you had been viſited by the whole repreſentave majeſty of the whole Engliſh nation. If what this ſociety has thought proper to ſend forth had been a piece of argument, it would have ſignified little whoſe argument it was. It would be neither the more nor the leſs convincing on account of the party it came from. But this is only a vote and reſolution. It ſtands ſolely on authority; and in this caſe it is the mere authority of individuals, few of whom appear. Their ſignatures ought, in my opinion, to have been annexed to their inſtrument. The world would then have the means of knowing how many they are; who they are; and of what value their opinions may be, from their perſonal abilities, from their knowledge, their experience, or their lead and authority in this ſtate. To me, who am but a plain man, the proceeding looks a little too refined, and too ingenious; it has too much the air of a political ſtratagem, adopted for the ſake of giving, under an high ſounding name, an importance to the public declarations of this club, which, when the matter came to be cloſely inſpected, they did not altogether ſo well deſerve. It is a policy that has very much the complexion of a fraud.——*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

SCHEMES (FRENCH)

Have nothing in Experience to prove their Tendency beneficial.

In obtaining and ſecuring their power, the aſſembly proceeds upon principles the moſt oppoſite from thoſe which appear to direct them in the uſe of it. An obſervation on this difference will let us into the true ſpirit of their conduct. Every thing which they have done, or continue to do, in order to obtain and keep their power, is by the moſt common arts. They proceed exactly as their anceſtors of ambition have done before them. Trace them through all their artifices, frauds, and violences, you can find nothing at all that is new. They follow precedents and examples with the punctilious exactneſs of a pleader. They never depart an iota from the authentic formulas of tyranny and uſurpation. But in all the regulations relative to the public good, the ſpirit has been the very reverſe of this. There they commit the whole to the mercy of untried ſpeculations; they abandon the deareſt intereſts of the public to thoſe looſe theories, to which none of them would chuſe to truſt the ſlighteſt of his private concerns. They make this difference, becauſe in their deſire of obtaining and ſecuring power they are thoroughly in earneſt; there they travel in the beaten road. The public intereſts, becauſe about them they have no real ſolicitude, they abandon wholly to chance; I ſay to chance, becauſe their ſchemes have nothing in experience to prove their tendency beneficial.—*Ibid.*

SENSES

To be ſubject to the Judgment in Politics.

In our politics as in our common conduct, we ſhall be worſe than infants, if we do not put our ſenſes under the tuition of our judgment, and effectually

cure ourſelves of that optical illuſion which makes a briar at our noſe of greater magnitude than an oak at five hundred yards diſtance.——*Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents.*

SOLDIERY.

Corruption of the Soldiery of Louis XVI. previous to the Revolution.

THE worſt effect of all their proceeding was on their military, which was rendered an army for every purpoſe but that of defence. If the queſtion was, whether ſoldiers were to forget they were citizens, as an abſtract propoſition, I could have no difference about it; though, as it is uſual, when abſtract principles are to be applied, much is to be thought on the manner of uniting the character of citizen and ſoldier. But as applied to the events which had happened in France, where the abſtract principle it cloathed with its circumſtances, I think that my friend (Mr. Fox) would agree with me, that what was done there furniſhed no matter of exultation, either in the act or the example. Theſe ſoldiers were not citizens; but baſe hireling mutineers, and mercenary ſordid deſerters, wholly deſtitute of any honourable principles. Their conduct was one of the fruits of that anarchic ſpirit, from the evils of which a democracy itſelf was to be reſorted to by thoſe who were the leaſt diſpoſed to that form as a ſort of refuge. It was not an army in corps and with diſcipline, and embodied under the reſpectable patriot citizens of the ſtate in reſiſting tyranny. Nothing like it It was the caſe of common ſoldiers deſerting from their officers, to join a furious, licentious populace. It was a deſertion to a cauſe, the real object of which was to level all thoſe inſtitutions, and to break all thoſe connections, natural and civil, that regulate and hold together the community by a chain of ſubordination; to raiſe ſoldiers againſt their offi-

ers; ſervants againſt their maſters; tradeſmen againſt their cuſtomers; artificers againſt their employers; tenants againſt their landlords; curates againſt their biſhops; and children againſt their parents. That this cauſe of theirs was not an enemy to ſervitude, but to ſociety.——*Speech on the Army Eſtimates.*

SERMONS (ANNIVERSARY.)

THE kind of anniverſary ſermons, to which a great part of what I write refers, if men are not ſhamed out of their preſent courſe, in commemorating the fact, will cheat many out of the principles, and deprive them of the benefits of the revolution they commemorate. I confeſs to you, Sir, I never liked this continual talk of reſiſtance and revolution, or the practice of making the extreme medicine of the conſtitution its daily bread. It renders the habit of ſociety dangerouſly valetudinary: it is taking periodical doſes of mercury ſublimate, and ſwallowing down repeated provocatives of cantharides to our love of liberty.

This diſtemper of remedy, grown habitual, relaxes and wears out, by a vulgar and proſtituted uſe, the ſpring of that ſpirit which is to be exerted on great occaſions. It was in the moſt patient period of Roman ſervitude that themes of tyrannicide made the ordinary exerciſe of boys at ſchool—*cum perimit ſævos claſſis numeroſa tyrannos.* In the ordinary ſtate of things, it produces in a country like ours the worſt effects, even on the cauſe of that liberty which it abuſes with the diſſoluteneſs of an extravagant ſpeculation.—*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

STATE.

We have conſecrated the State.

To avoid, therefore, the evils of inconſtancy and verſatility, ten thouſand times worſe than thoſe of

obſtinacy and the blindeſt prejudice, we have conſecrated the State, that no man ſhould approach to look into its defects or corruptions but with due caution; that he ſhould never dream of beginning its reformation by its ſubverſion; that he ſhould approach to the faults of the State as to the wounds of a father, with pious awe and trembling ſolicitude. By this wiſe prejudice we are taught to look with horror on thoſe children of their country, who are prompt raſhly to hack that aged parent in pieces, and put him into the kettle of magicians, in hopes that by their poiſonous weeds, and wild incantations, they may regenerate the paternal conſtitution, and renovate their father's life.—*Ibid.*

STATE, (REASONS OF.)

I ADMIT that reaſon of ſtate will not, in many circumſtances, permit the diſcloſure of the true ground of a public proceeding. In that caſe ſilence is manly and it is wiſe. It is fair to call for truſt when the principle of reaſon itſelf ſuſpends its public uſe. I take the diſtinction to be this. The ground of a particular meaſure, making a part of a plan, it is rarely proper to divulge. All the broader grounds of policy on which the general plan is to be adopted, ought as rarely to be concealed. They who have not the whole cauſe before them, call them politicians, call them people, call them what you will, are no judges. The difficulties of the caſe as well as its fair ſide, ought to be preſented. This ought to be done: and it is all that can be done. When we have our true ſituation diſtinctly preſented to us, if we reſolve with a blind and headlong violence, to reſiſt the admonitions of our friends, and to caſt ourſelves into the hands of our potent and irreconcileable foes, then, and not till then, the miniſters ſtand acquitted before God and man, for whatever may come.—— *Regicide Peace.*

Seeds of Revolution not wanting in the Eccleſiaſtical States.

In the eſtates of the church, notwithſtanding their ſtrictneſs in baniſhing the French out of that country, there are not wanting the ſeeds of a revolution. The ſpirit of Nepotiſm prevails there nearly as ſtrong as ever. Every pope of courſe is to give origin or reſtoration to a great family, by the means of large donations. The foreign revenues have long been gradually on the decline, and ſeem now in a manner dried up. To ſupply this defect the reſource of vexatious and impolitic jobbing at home, if any thing, is rather encreaſed than leſſened. Various, well intended but ill underſtood practices, ſome of them exiſting, in their ſpirit at leaſt, from the time of the old Roman empire, ſtill prevail; and that government is as blindly attached to old abuſive cuſtoms, as others are wildly diſpoſed to all ſorts of innovations and experiments. Theſe abuſes were leſs felt whilſt the pontificate drew riches from abroad, which in ſome meaſure counterbalanced the evils of their remiſs and jobbiſh government at home. But now it can ſubſiſt only on the reſources of domeſtic management; and abuſes in that management of courſe will be more intimately and more ſeverely felt.

In the midſt of the apparently torpid languor of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, thoſe who have had opportunity of a near obſervation, have ſeen a little rippling in that ſmooth water, which indicates ſomething alive under it. There is in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, a perſonage who ſeems capable of acting (but with more force and ſteadineſs) the part of the tribune Rienzi. The people once inflamed will not be deſtitute of a leader. They have ſuch an one already in the Cardinal or Archbiſhop *Buon Campagna*. He is, of all men, if I am not ill-informed, the moſt turbulent, ſeditious, intriguing, bold, and deſperate.

He is not at all made for a Roman of the preſent day. I think he lately held the firſt office of their ſtate, that of Great Chamberlain, which is equivalent to High Treaſurer. At preſent he is out of employment, and in diſgrace. If he ſhould be elected pope, or even come to have any weight with a new pope, he will infallibly conjure up a democratic ſpirit in that country. He may indeed be able to effect it without theſe advantages. The next interregnum will probably ſhew more of him. There may be others of the ſame character, who have not come to my knowledge. This much is certain, that the Roman people, if once the blind reverence they bear to the ſanctity of the pope, which is their only bridle, ſhould relax, are naturally turbulent, ferocious, and headlong, whilſt the police is defective, and the government feeble and reſourceleſs beyond all imagination.—*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

STATE (GREAT.)

I KNOW that a great ſtate ought to have ſome regard to its ancient maxims; eſpecially where they indicate its dignity; where they concur with the rules of prudence; and above all, where the circumſtances of the time require that a ſpirit of innovation ſhould be reſiſted, which leads to the humiliation of ſovereign powers.——*Regicide Peace.*

STATESMAN.

A diſpoſition to preſerve, and an ability to improve, taken together, would be my ſtandard of a ſtateſman. Every thing elſe is vulgar in the conception, perilous in the execution.——*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

STATESMAN (UNCONSTITUTIONAL WISH OF.)

IT muſt be always the wiſh of an unconſtitutional ſtateſman, that an houſe of commons who are entirely dependent upon him, ſhould have every right of the people entirely dependent upon their pleaſure.——*Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents.*

STATESMEN.

Sentiments of the New Stateſmen of France.

YOUR literary men, and your politicians, and ſo do the whole clan of the enlightened among us, eſſentially differ in theſe points. They have no reſpect for the wiſdom of others; but they pay it off by a very full meaſure of confidence in their own. With them it is a ſufficient motive to deſtroy an old ſcheme of things, becauſe it is an old one. As to the new, they are in no ſort of fear with regard to the duration of a building run up in haſte; becauſe duration is no object to thoſe who think little or nothing has been done before their time, and who place all their hopes in diſcovery. They conceive, very ſyſtematically, that all things which give perpetuity are miſchievous, and therefore they are at inexpiable war with all eſtabliſhments. They think that government may vary like modes of dreſs, and with as little ill effect. That there needs no principle of attachment, except a ſenſe of preſent conveniency, to any conſtitution of the ſtate. They always ſpeak as if they were of opinion that there is a ſingular ſpecies of compact between them and their magiſtrates, which binds the magiſtrate, but which has nothing reciprocal in it, but that the majeſty of the people has a right to diſſolve it without any reaſon, but its will. Their attachment to their country itſelf, is only ſo far as it agrees with ſome of their fleeting projects; it begins and ends with that ſcheme of polity which falls in with their momentary opinion.

Theſe doctrines, or rather ſentiments, ſeem prevalent with your new ſtateſmen. But they are wholly different from thoſe on which we have always acted in this country.——*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

STATESMEN.

STATESMEN are placed on an eminence, that they may have a larger horizon than we can poſſibly command. They have a whole before them, which we can contemplate only in the parts, and without the relations.—*Regicide Peace.*

STATESMEN.

No Habits of Life diſqualify for Government.

I HAVE known merchants with the ſentiments and the abilities of great ſtateſmen; and I have ſeen perſons in the rank of ſtateſmen, with the conceptions and character of pedlars. Indeed, my obſervation has furniſhed me with nothing that is to be found in any habits of life or education, which tends wholly to diſqualify men for the functions of government, but that, by which the power of exerciſing thoſe functions is very frequently obtained, I mean, a ſpirit and habits of low cabal and intrigue.—*Speech on Mr. Fox's India Bill.*

SICILY.

SICILY, I think, has theſe diſpoſitions (republicaniſm) in as ſtrong a degree as Naples. In neither of theſe countries exiſts any thing which very well deſerves the name of government or exact police.—*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

SCOTLAND.

How much have you loſt by the participation of Scotland in all your commerce? The external trade

of England has more than doubled ſince that period, and I believe your internal (which is the moſt advantageous) has been augmented at leaſt fourfold. Such virtue there is in liberality of ſentiment, that you have grown richer even by the partnerſhip of poverty.——*Two Letters to Gentlemen in Briſtol.*

SCOTIA (NOVA) DESCRIBED.

THE province of Nova Scotia was the youngeſt and the favourite child of the Board (of Trade.) Good God! What ſums the nurſing of that ill thriven, hard-viſaged, and ill-favoured brat, has coſt to this wittol nation! Sir, this colony has ſtood us in a ſum of not leſs than ſeven hundred thouſand pounds. To this day it has made no re-payment; it does not even ſupport thoſe offices of expence, which are miſcalled its government; the whole of that job ſtill lies upon the patient, callous ſhoulders of the people of England.

Sir, I am going to ſtate a fact to you, that will ſerve to ſet in full ſunſhine the real value of formality and official ſuperintendance. There was in the province of Nova Scotia, one little neglected corner; the country of the *neutral French;* which having the good fortune to eſcape the foſtering care both of France and England, and to have been ſhut out from the protection and regulation of Councils of Commerce, and of Boards of Trade, did, in ſilence, without notice, and without aſſiſtance, increaſe to a conſiderable degree. But it ſeems our nation had more ſkill and ability in deſtroying, than in ſettling a colony. In the laſt war we did, in my opinion, moſt inhumanly, and upon pretences that in the eye of an honeſt man are not worth a farthing, root out this poor innocent deſerving people, whom our utter inability to govern, or to reconcile, gave us no ſort of right to extirpate. Whatever the merits of that extirpation might have been, it was on the footſteps of a neglected

people, it was on the fund of unconſtrained poverty, it was on the acquiſitions of unregulated induſtry, that any thing which deſerves the name of a colony in that province, has been formed. It has been formed by overflowings from the exuberant population of New England, and by emigration, from other parts of Nova Scotia, of fugitives from the protection of the Board of Trade.——*Oecon. Reform.*

SIEYES (ABBE'.)

Humourous Deſcription of the Abbé's Conſtitutional Warehouſe.

Abbé Sieyes has whole neſts of pigeon holes full of conſtitutions ready made, ticketed, ſorted, and numbered; ſuited to every ſeaſon and every fancy; ſome with the top of the pattern at the bottom, and ſome with the bottom at the top; ſome plain, ſome flowered; ſome diſtinguiſhed for their ſimplicity; others for their complexity; ſome of blood-colour; ſome of *boue de Paris*; ſome with directories, others without a direction; ſome with councils of elders, and councils of youngſters; ſome without any council at all. Some where the electors chooſe the repreſentatives; others where the repreſentatives chooſe the electors. Some in long coats, and ſome in ſhort cloaks; ſome with pantaloons; ſome without breeches. Some with five-ſhilling qualifications, ſome totally unqualified. So that no conſtitution-fancier may go unſuited from his ſhop, provided he loves a pattern of pillage, oppreſſion, arbitrary impriſonment, confiſcation, exile, revolutionary judgment, and legalized premeditated murder, in any ſhapes into which they can be put.—*Letter to a noble Lord.*

STABLES (ROYAL.)

THERE are, indeed, two offices in his (the king's) ſtables which are ſinecures. By the change of manners,

and indeed by the nature of the thing, they muſt be ſo; I mean the ſeveral keepers of buck-hounds, ſtag-hounds, fox-hounds, and harriers. They anſwer no purpoſe of utility or of ſplendor. Theſe I propoſe to aboliſh. It is not proper that great noblemen ſhould be keepers of dogs, though they were the king's dogs.——*Oecon. Reform.*

SOVEREIGN (BRITISH.)

I believe, Sir, that many on the continent altogether miſtake the condition of a king of Great Britain. He is a real king, and not an executive officer. If he will not trouble himſelf with contemptible details, nor wiſh to degrade himſelf by becoming a party in little ſquabbles, I am far from ſure, that a king of Great Britain, in whatever concerns him as a king, or indeed as a rational man, who combines his public intereſt with his perſonal ſatisfaction, does not poſſeſs a more real, ſolid, extenſive power, than the king of France was poſſeſſed of before this miſerable revolution. The direct power of the king of England is conſiderable. His indirect, and far more certain power, is great indeed. He ſtands in need of nothing towards dignity, of nothing towards ſplendor; of nothing towards authority; of nothing at all towards conſideration abroad. When was it that a king of England wanted wherewithal to make him reſpected, courted, or perhaps even feared in every ſtate in Europe.—*Letter to a Member of the National Aſſembly.*

SOVEREIGNS.

Their Diſpoſitions.

But indeed kings are to guard againſt the ſame ſort of diſpoſitions in themſelves. They are very eaſily alienated from all the higher orders of their ſubjects, whether civil or military, laick or eccleſiaſtical. It is with perſons of condition that Sovereigns chiefly come into contact. It is from them

that they generally experience oppoſition to their will. It is with *their* pride and impracticability, that Princes are moſt hurt; it is with *their* ſervility and baſeneſs, that they are moſt commonly diſguſted; it is from their humours and cabals, that they find their affairs moſt frequently troubled and diſtracted. But of the common people in pure monarchical governments, Kings know little or nothing; and therefore being unacquainted with their faults (which are as many as thoſe of the great, and much more deciſive in their effects when accompanied with power) Kings generally regard them with tenderneſs and favour, and turn their eyes towards that deſcription of their ſubjects, particularly when hurt by oppoſition from the higher orders.——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

SOVEREIGN JURISDICTIONS (SEE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.)

WITH regard to the ſovereign juriſdictions, I muſt obſerve, Sir, that whoever takes a view of this kingdom in a curſory manner, will imagine, that he beholds a ſolid, compacted, uniform ſyſtem of monarchy; in which all inferior juriſdictions are but as rays diverging from one center. But on examining it more nearly, you find much eccentricity and confuſion. It is not a monarchy in ſtrictneſs. But, as in the Saxon times this country was an heptarchy, it is now a ſtrange ſort of *pentarchy*. It is divided into five ſeveral diſtinct principalities, beſides the ſupreme. There is indeed this difference from the Saxon times, that as in the itinerant exhibitions of the ſtage, for want of a complete company, they are obliged to throw a variety of parts on their chief performer; ſo our ſovereign condeſcends himſelf to act, not only the principal but all the ſubordinate parts in the play. He condeſcends to diſſipate the royal character, and to trifle with thoſe light ſubor-

dinate lacquered ſceptres in thoſe hands that ſuſtain the ball, repreſenting the world, or which wield the trident that commands the ocean. Croſs a brook, and you loſe the king of England; but you have ſome comfort in coming again under his majeſty, though "ſhorn of his beams," and no more than prince of Wales. Go to the north, and you find him dwindled to a duke of Lancaſter; turn to the weſt of that north, and he pops upon you in the humble character of Earl of Cheſter. Travel a few miles on, the earl of Cheſter diſappears; and the king ſurpriſes you again as count palatine of Lancaſter. If you travel beyond Mount Edgecombe, you find him once more in his incognito, and he is duke of Cornwall. So that, quite fatigued and ſatiated with this dull variety, you are infinitely refreſhed when you return to the ſphere of his proper ſplendor, and behold your amiable ſovereign in his true, ſimple, undiſguiſed, native character of majeſty. ——*Oecon Reform.*

SPAIN.

Preſent State of that Country.

As to Spain, it is a nerveleſs country. It does not poſſeſs the uſe, it only ſuffers the abuſe of a nobility. For ſome time, and even before the ſettlement of the Bourbon dynaſty, that body has been ſyſtematically lowered, and rendered incapable by excluſion, and for incapacity excluded from affairs. In this circle the body is in a manner annihilated—and ſo little means have they of any weighty exertion either to controul or to ſupport the crown, that if they at all interfere, it is only by abetting deſperate and mobbiſh inſurrections, like that at Madrid which drove Squillace from his place. Florida Blanca is a creature of office, and has little connexion, and no ſympathy with that body.

As to the clergy, they are the only thing in Spain that looks like an independent order, and they are

kept in ſome reſpect by the inquiſition, the ſole but unhappy reſource of public tranquillity and order now remaining in Spain. As in Venice, it is become moſtly an engine of ſtate, which indeed to a degree it has always been in Spain. It wars no longer with Jews and Heretics: It has no ſuch war to carry on. It's great object is to keep atheiſtic and republican doctrines from making their way in that kingdom. No French book upon any ſubject can enter there which does not contain ſuch matter. In Spain the clergy are of moment from their influence, but at the ſame time with the envy and jealouſy that attend great riches and power. Though the crown has by management with the Pope got a very great ſhare of the eccleſiaſtical revenues into it's own hands, much ſtill remains to them. There will always be about that court thoſe who look out to a farther diviſion of the church property as a reſource, and to be obtained by ſhorter methods than thoſe of negotiations with the clergy and their chief. But at preſent I think it likely that they will ſtop, leſt the buſineſs ſhould be taken out of their hands; and leſt that body in which remains the only life that exiſts in Spain, and is not a fever, may with their property loſe all the influence neceſſary to preſerve the monarchy, or being poor and deſperate, may employ whatever influence remains to them as active agents in it's deſtruction.

The Caſtilians have ſtill remaining a good deal of their old character, their *Gravidad*, *Lealdad*, and *il Timor de Dios*; but that character neither is, or ever was exactly true, except of the Caſtilians only. The ſeveral kingdoms which compoſe Spain, have perhaps ſome features which run through the whole; but they are in many particulars as different as nations who go by different names; the Catalans, for inſtance, and the Arragonians too, in a good meaſure have the ſpirit of the Miquelets, and much more of republicaniſm than of an attachment to royalty. They

are more in the way of trade and intercourſe with France; and upon the leaſt internal movement, will diſcloſe and probably let looſe a ſpirit that may throw the whole Spaniſh monarchy into convulſions.

It is a melancholy reflection that the ſpirit of melioration which has been going on in that part of Europe, more or leſs during this century, and the various ſchemes very lately on foot for further advancement are all put a ſtop to at once. Reformation certainly is nearly connected with innovation—and where that latter comes in for too large a ſhare, thoſe who undertake to improve their country may riſque their own ſafety. In times where the correction, which includes the confeſſion of an abuſe, is turned to criminate the authority which has long ſuffered it, rather than to honour thoſe who would amend it (which is the ſpirit of this malignant French diſtemper) every ſtep out of the common courſe becomes critical, and renders it a taſk full of peril for princes of moderate talents to engage in great undertakings. At preſent the only ſafety of Spain is the old national hatred to the French. How far that can be depended upon, if any great ferments ſhould be excited, it is impoſſible to ſay.——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

SUBLIME.

The Sublime and Beautiful compared.

On cloſing this general view of beauty, it naturally occurs, that we ſhould compare it with the ſublime; and in this compariſon there appears a remarkable contraſt. For ſublime objects are vaſt in their dimenſions, beautiful ones comparatively ſmall: beauty ſhould be ſmooth and poliſhed; the great, rugged and negligent; beauty ſhould ſhun the right line, yet deviate from it inſenſibly; the great, in many caſes, loves the right line; and when it deviates, it often makes a ſtrong deviation: beauty ſhould not be obſcure; the great ought to be dark and

gloomy: beauty ſhould be light and delicate; the great ought to be ſolid, and even maſſive. They are, indeed, ideas of a very different nature, one being founded on pain, the other on pleaſure; and however they may vary afterwards from the direct nature of their cauſes, yet theſe cauſes keep up an eternal diſtinction between them, a diſtinction never to be forgotten by any whoſe buſineſs it is to affect the paſſions. In the infinite variety of natural combinations, we muſt expect to find the qualities of things the moſt remote imaginable from each other united in the ſame object. We muſt expect alſo to find combinations of the ſame kind in the works of art. But when we conſider the power of an object upon our paſſions, we muſt know that when any thing is intended to affect the mind by the force of ſome predominant property, the affection produced is like to be the more uniform and perfect, if all the other properties or qualities of the object be of the ſame nature, and tending to the ſame deſign as the principal;

If black and white blend, ſoften, and unite,
A thouſand ways, are there no black and white?

If the qualities of the ſublime and beautiful are ſometimes found united, does this prove that they are the ſame; does it prove that they are any way allied; does it prove even that they are not oppoſite and contradictory? Black and white may ſoften, may blend; but they are not therefore the ſame. Nor, when they are ſo ſoftened and blended with each other, or with different colours, is the power of black as black, or of white as white, ſo ſtrong as when each ſtands uniform and diſtinguiſhed.——*Sublime and Beautiful.*

SUBLIME.

Of the Paſſion cauſed by the Sublime.

THE paſſion cauſed by the great and ſublime in *nature*, when thoſe cauſes operate moſt powerfully,

is aſtoniſhment; and aſtoniſhment is that ſtate of the ſoul, in which all its motions are ſuſpended, with ſome degree of horror. In this caſe the mind is ſo entirely filled with its object, that it cannot entertain any other, nor by conſequence reaſon on that object which employs it. Hence ariſes the great power of the ſublime, that, far from being produced by them, it anticipates our reaſonings, and hurries us on by an irreſiſtible force. Aſtoniſhment, as I have ſaid, is the effect of the ſublime in its higheſt degree; the inferior effects are admiration, reverence, and reſpect.——*Ibid.*

SUBLIME.

Source of the Sublime.

WHATEVER is fitted in any ſort to excite the ideas of pain and danger, that is to ſay, whatever is in any ſort terrible, or is converſant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a ſource of the *ſublime*; that is, it is productive of the ſtrongeſt emotion which the mind is capable of feeling. ——*Ibid.*

SUBLIME DESCRIPTION.

WE do not any where meet a more ſublime deſcription than this juſtly-celebrated one of Milton, wherein he gives the portrait of Satan with a dignity ſo ſuitable to the ſubject:

He above the reſt
In ſhape and geſture proudly eminent
Stood like a tower; his form had yet not loſt
All her original brightneſs, nor appear'd
Leſs than archangel ruin'd, and th' exceſs
Of glory obſcur'd: as when the ſun new ris'n
Looks through the horizontal miſty air
Shorn of his beams; or from behind the moon
In dim eclipſe diſaſtrous twilight ſheds
On half the nations; and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs.

Here is a very noble picture; and in what does this poetical picture conſiſt? in images of a tower, an archangel, the ſun riſing through miſts, or in an eclipſe, the ruin of monarchs, and the revolutions of kingdoms. The mind is hurried out of itſelf, by a crowd of great and confuſed images; which affect becauſe they are crowded and confuſed. For ſeparate them, and you loſe much of the greatneſs; and join them, and you infallibly loſe the clearneſs. The images raiſed by poetry are always of this obſcure kind; though in general the effects of poetry are by no means to be attributed to the images it raiſes. But painting, when we have allowed for the pleaſure of imitation, can only affect ſimply by the images it preſents; and even in painting, a judicious obſcurity in ſome things contributes to the effect of the picture; becauſe the images in painting are exactly ſimilar to thoſe in nature; and in nature dark, confuſed, uncertain images have a greater power on the fancy to form the grander paſſions, than thoſe have which are more clear and determinate. But where and when this obſervation may be applied to practice, and how far it ſhall be extended, will be better deduced from the nature of the ſubject, and from the occaſion, than from any rules that can be given.

I am ſenſible that this idea has met with oppoſition, and is likely ſtill to be rejected by ſeveral. But let it be conſidered, that hardly any thing can ſtrike the mind with its greatneſs, which does not make ſome ſort of approach towards infinity; which nothing can do whilſt we are able to perceive its bounds; but to ſee an object diſtinctly, and to perceive its bounds, is one and the ſame thing. A clear idea is therefore another name for a little idea. There is a paſſage in the book of Job amazingly ſublime, and this ſublimity is principally due to the terrible uncertainty of the thing deſcribed: *In thoughts from the viſions of the night, when deep ſleep falleth upon men, fear came upon me and trembling, which made all my bones to*

ſhake. Then a ſpirit paſſed before my face. The hair of my fleſh ſtood up. It ſtood ſtill, but I could not diſcern the form thereof; *an image was before mine eyes; there was ſilence; and I heard a voice,—Shall mortal man be more juſt than God?* We are firſt prepared with the utmoſt ſolemnity for the viſion; we are firſt terrified, before we are let even into the obſcure cauſe of our emotion: but when this grand cauſe of terror makes its appearance, what is it? is it not wrapt up in the ſhades of its own incomprehenſible darkneſs, more aweful, more ſtriking, more terrible, than the livelieſt deſcription, than the cleareſt painting, could poſſibly repreſent it? When painters have attempted to give us clear repreſentations of theſe very fanciful and terrible ideas, they have, I think, almoſt always failed; inſomuch that I have been at a loſs, in all the pictures I have ſeen of hell, whether the painter did not intend ſomething ludicrous. Several painters have handled a ſubject of this kind with a view of aſſembling as many horrid phantoms as their imaginations could ſuggeſt; but all the deſigns I have chanced to meet of the temptations of St. Anthony, were rather a ſort of odd wild groteſques, than any thing capable of producing a ſerious paſſion. In all theſe ſubjects poetry is very happy. Its apparitions, its chimeras, its harpies, its allegorical figures, are grand and affecting; and though Virgil's Fame, and Homer's Diſcord, are obſcure, they are magnificent figures. Theſe figures in painting would be clear enough, but I fear they might become ridiculous.——*Sublime and Beautiful.*

SUPPLY.

THE ſacred and reſerved right of the Commons.—*Speech on American Taxation.*

SWITZERLAND.

As to Switzerland, it is a country whoſe long union, rather than its poſſible diviſion, is the matter of wonder. Here I know they entertain very ſanguine hopes. The aggregation to France of the democratic Swiſs republics appears to them to be a work half done by their very form; and it might ſeem to them rather an encreaſe of importance to theſe little commonwealths, than a derogation from their independency, or a change in the manner of their government. Upon any quarrel amongſt the cantons nothing is more likely than ſuch an event. As to the ariſtocratic republics, the general clamour and hatred which the French excite againſt the very name, (and with more facility and ſucceſs than againſt monarchs) and the utter impoſſibility of their government making any ſort of reſiſtance againſt an inſurrection, where they have no troops, and the people are all armed and trained, render their hopes in that quarter, far indeed from unfounded. It is certain that the republic of Berne thinks itſelf obliged to a vigilance next to hoſtile, and to impriſon or expel all the French whom they find in their territories. But indeed thoſe ariſtocracies which comprehend whatever is conſiderable, wealthy, and valuable in Switzerland, do now ſo wholly depend upon opinion, and the humour of their multitude, that the lighteſt puff of wind is ſufficient to blow them down. If France, under its ancient regimen, and upon the ancient principles of policy, was the ſupport of the Germanic conſtitution, it was much more ſo of that of Switzerland, which almoſt from the very origin of that confederacy reſted upon the cloſeneſs of its connection with France, on which the Swiſs cantons wholly repoſed themſelves for the preſervation of the parts of their body in their reſpective rights and permanent forms, as well as for the maintenance of all in their general independency.

Switzerland and Germany are the firſt objects of the new French politicians. When I contemplate what they have done at home, which is in effect little leſs than an amazing conqueſt wrought by a change of opinion, in a great part (to be ſure far from altogether) very ſudden, I cannot help letting my thoughts run along with their deſigns, and without attending to geographical order, to conſider the other ſtates of Europe ſo far as they may be any way affected by this aſtoniſhing revolution. If early ſteps are not taken in ſome way or other to prevent the ſpreading of this influence, I ſcarcely think any of them perfectly ſecure.——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

SECT. (FRENCH ATHEISTS.)

I MUST declare, that the doctrine and diſcipline of this ſect is one of the moſt alarming circumſtances relating to it, and the attempt to compare them with the opinions of ſchool theologicians, is a thing in itſelf highly alarming. I know that when men poſſeſs the beſt principles, the paſſions lead them to act in oppoſition to them. But when the moral principles are formed ſyſtematically to play into the hand of the paſſions; when that which is to correct vice and to reſtrain violence, is by an infernal doctrine, daringly avowed, carefully propagated, enthuſiaſtically held, and practically followed, I ſhall think myſelf treated like a child, when I hear this compared to a controverſy in the ſchools. When I ſee a great country, with all its reſources, poſſeſſed by this ſect, and turned to its purpoſes, I muſt be worſe than a child to conceive it a thing indifferent to me. When this great country is ſo near me, and otherwiſe ſo ſituated, that except through its territory, I can hardly have a communication with any other, the ſtate of moral and political opinion, and moral and political diſcipline in that country, becomes of ſtill greater

importance to me. When robbers, aſſaſſins, and rebels, are not only debauched, but endoctrinated regularly, by a courſe of inverted education, into murder, inſurrection, and the violation of all property; I hold, that this, inſtead of excuſing, or palliating their offences, inſpires a peculiar venom into every evil act they do; and that all ſuch univerſities of crimes, and all ſuch profeſſors of robbery, are in a perpetual ſtate of hoſtility with mankind.—*Regicide Peace.*

SUMMUM JUS.

WHEN confidence is once reſtored, the odious and ſuſpicious *ſummum jus* will periſh of courſe.—*Speech on American Taxation.*

TASTE.

General Idea of Taſte.

But to cut off all pretence for cavilling, I mean by the word Taſte, no more than that faculty or thoſe faculties of the mind, which are affected with, or which form a judgment of, the works of imagination and the elegant arts. This is, I think, the moſt general idea of that word, and what is the leaſt connected with any particular theory. And my point in this inquiry is, to find whether there are any principles, on which the imagination is affected, ſo common to all, ſo grounded and certain, as to ſupply the means of reaſoning ſatisfactorily about them. And ſuch principles of taſte I fancy there are; however paradoxical it may ſeem to thoſe who, on a ſuperficial view, imagine that there is ſo great a diverſity of taſtes, both in kind and degree, that nothing can be more determinate.

All the natural powers in man, which I know, that are converſant about external objects, are the ſenſes; the imagination; and the judgment. And firſt with

regard to the ſenſes. We do and we muſt ſuppoſe, that as the conformation of their organs are nearly or altogether the ſame in all men, ſo the manner of perceiving external objects is in all men the ſame, or with little difference. We are ſatisfied that what appears to be light to one eye, appears light to another; that what ſeems ſweet to one palate, is ſweet to another; that what is dark and bitter to this man, is likewiſe dark and bitter to that; and we conclude in the ſame manner of great and little, hard and ſoft, hot and cold, rough and ſmooth; and indeed of all the natural qualities and affections of bodies. If we ſuffer ourſelves to imagine, that their ſenſes preſent to different men different images of things, this ſceptical proceeding will make every ſort of reaſoning on every ſubject vain and frivolous, even that ſceptical reaſoning itſelf which had perſuaded us to entertain a doubt concerning the agreement of our perceptions. But as there will be little doubt that bodies preſent ſimilar images to the whole ſpecies, it muſt neceſſarily be allowed, that the pleaſures and the pains which every object excites in one man, it muſt raiſe in all mankind, whilſt it operates naturally, ſimply, and by its proper powers only; for if we deny this, we muſt imagine that the ſame cauſe operating in the ſame manner, and on ſubjects of the ſame kind, will produce different effects, which would be highly abſurd. Let us firſt conſider this point in the ſenſe of taſte, and the rather as the faculty in queſtion has taken its name from that ſenſe. All men are agreed to call vinegar ſour, honey ſweet, and aloes bitter; and as they are all agreed in finding theſe qualities in thoſe objects, they do not in the leaſt differ concerning their effects with regard to pleaſure and pain. They all concur in calling ſweetneſs pleaſant, and ſourneſs and bitterneſs unpleaſant. Here there is no diverſity in their ſentiments; and that there is not, appears fully from the conſent of all men in the metaphors which are taken from the ſenſe of taſte. A ſour temper, bitter expreſ-

ſions, bitter curſes, a bitter fate, are terms well and ſtrongly underſtood by all. And we are altogether as well underſtood when we ſay a ſweet diſpoſition, a ſweet perſon, a ſweet condition, and the like. It is confeſſed, that cuſtom, and ſome other cauſes, have made many deviations from the natural pleaſures or pains which belong to theſe ſeveral taſtes; but then the power of diſtinguiſhing between the natural and the acquired reliſh remains to the very laſt. A man frequently comes to prefer the taſte of tobacco to that of ſugar, and the flavour of vinegar to that of milk; but this makes no confuſion in taſtes, whilſt he is ſenſible that the tobacco and vinegar are not ſweet, and whilſt he knows that habit alone has reconciled his palate to theſe alien pleaſures. Even with ſuch a perſon we may ſpeak, and with ſufficient preciſion, concerning taſtes. But ſhould any man be found who declares, that to him tobacco has a taſte like ſugar, and that he cannot diſtinguiſh between milk and vinegar; or that tobacco and vinegar are ſweet, milk bitter, and ſugar ſour; we immediately conclude that the organs of this man are out of order, and that his palate is utterly vitiated. We are as far from conferring with ſuch a perſon upon taſtes, as from reaſoning concerning the relations of quantity, with one who ſhould deny that all the parts together were equal to the whole. We do not call a man of this kind wrong in his notions, but abſolutely mad. Exceptions of this ſort, in either way, do not at all impeach our general rule, nor make us conclude that men have various principles concerning the relations of quantity, or the taſte of things. So that when it is ſaid, taſte cannot be diſputed, it can only mean, that no one can ſtrictly anſwer what pleaſure or pain ſome particular man may find from the taſte of ſome particular thing. This indeed cannot be diſputed; but we may diſpute, and with ſufficient clearneſs too, concerning the things which are naturally pleaſing or diſagreeable to the ſenſe. But when we talk of any peculiar or acquired reliſh, then we muſt know the habits, the

prejudices, or the diſtempers of this particular maſs; and we muſt draw our concluſion from thoſe.

This agreement of mankind is not confined to the taſte ſolely. The principle of pleaſure derived from ſight is the ſame in all. Light is more pleaſing than darkneſs. Summer, when the earth is clad in green, when the heavens are ſerene and bright, is more agreeable than winter, when every thing makes a different appearance. I never remember that any thing beautiful, whether a man, a beaſt, a bird, or a plant, was ever ſhewn, though it were to an hundred people, that they did not all immediately agree that it was beautiful, though ſome might have thought that it fell ſhort of their expectation, or that other things were ſtill finer.——*Sublime and Beautiful.*

TASTE.

Progreſs of Taſte.

A man to whom ſculpture is new ſees a barber's block, or ſome ordinary piece of ſtatuary, he is immediately ſtruck and pleaſed, becauſe he ſees ſomething like a human figure; and, entirely taken up with this likeneſs, he does not at all attend to its defects. No perſon, I believe, at the firſt time of ſeeing a piece of imitation ever did. Some time after, we ſuppoſe that this novice lights upon a more artificial work of the ſame nature. He now begins to look with contempt on what he admired at firſt; not that he admired it even then for its unlikeneſs to a man, but for that general though inaccurate reſemblance which it bore to the human figure. What he admired at different times in theſe ſo different figures, is ſtrictly the ſame; and though his knowledge is improved, his taſte is not altered. Hitherto his miſtake was from a want of knowledge in art, and this aroſe from his inexperience; but he may be ſtill deficient from a want of knowledge in nature. For

it is poſſible that the man in queſtion may ſtop here, and that the maſter-piece of a great hand may pleaſe him no more than the middling performance of a vulgar artiſt; and this not for want of better or higher reliſh, but becauſe all men do not obſerve with ſufficient accuracy on the human figure to enable them to judge properly of an imitation of it. And that the critical taſte does not depend upon a ſuperior principle in men, but upon ſuperior knowledge, may appear from ſeveral inſtances. The ſtory of the antient painter and the ſhoemaker is very well known. The ſhoemaker ſet the painter right with regard to ſome miſtakes he had made in the ſhoe of one of his figures, and which the painter, who had not made ſuch accurate obſervations on ſhoes, and was content with a general reſemblance, had never obſerved. But this was no impeachment to the taſte of the painter; it only ſhewed ſome want of knowledge in the art of making ſhoes. Let us imagine, that an anatomiſt had come into the painter's working room. His piece is in general well done, the figure in queſtion in a good attitude, and the parts well adjuſted to their various movements; yet the anatomiſt, critical in his art, may obſerve the ſwell of ſome muſcle not quite juſt in the peculiar action of the figure. Here the anatomiſt obſerves what the painter had not obſerved; and he paſſes by what the ſhoemaker had remarked. But a want of the laſt critical knowledge in anatomy no more reflected on the natural good taſte of the painter, or of any common obſerver of his piece, than the want of an exact knowledge in the formation of a ſhoe. A fine piece of a decollated head of St. John the Baptiſt was ſhewn to a Turkiſh emperor; he praiſed many things, but he obſerved one defect; he obſerved that the ſkin did not ſhrink from the wounded part of the neck. The ſultan on this occaſion, though his obſervation was very juſt, diſcovered no more natural taſte than the painter who executed this piece, or than a thouſand

European connoiſſeurs, who probably never would have made the ſame obſervation. His Turkiſh majeſty had indeed been well acquainted with that terrible ſpectacle, which the others could only have repreſented in their imagination. On the ſubject of their diſlike there is a difference between all theſe people, ariſing from the different kinds and degrees of their knowledge; but there is ſomething in common to the painter, the ſhoemaker, the anatomiſt, and the Turkiſh emperor, the pleaſure ariſing from a natural object, ſo far as each perceives it juſtly imitated; the ſatisfaction in ſeeing an agreeable figure; the ſympathy proceeding from a ſtriking and affecting incident. So far as taſte is natural, it is nearly common to all.——*Ibid.*

TAXATION.

An eaſy Buſineſs.

TAXING is an eaſy buſineſs. Any projector can contrive new impoſitions; any bungler can add to the old. But is it altogether wiſe to have no other bounds to your impoſitions, than the patience of thoſe who are to bear them?——*Oecon. Reform.*

TEACHERS (NEW).

IF we do not take to our aid the foregone ſtudies of men reputed intelligent and learned, we ſhall be always beginners. But in effect, men muſt learn ſomewhere; and the new teachers mean no more than what they effect, that is, to deprive men of the benefit of the collected wiſdom of mankind, and to make them blind diſciples of their own particular preſumption. Talk to theſe deluded creatures, all the diſciples and moſt of the maſters, who are taught to think themſelves ſo newly fitted up and furniſhed, and you will find nothing in their houſes but the re-

fuſe of *Knaves Acre*; nothing but the rotten ſtuff, worn out in the ſervice of deluſion and ſedition in all ages, and which being newly furbiſhed up, patched, and varniſhed, ſerves well enough for thoſe who being unacquainted with the conflict which has always been maintained between the ſenſe and nonſenſe of mankind, know nothing of the former exiſtence and the ancient refutation of the ſame follies. It is near two thouſand years ſince it has been obſerved, that theſe devices of ambition, avarice, and turbulence, were antiquated. They are, indeed, the moſt ancient of all common places; common places, ſometimes of good and neceſſary cauſes; more frequently of the worſt, but which decide upon neither.—*Eadem ſemper cauſa, libido et avaritia, et mutandarum rerum amor.—Cæterum libertas et ſpecioſa nomina pretexuntur; nec quiſquam alienum ſervitium, et dominationem ſibi concupivit, ut non eadem iſta vocabula uſurparet.*——*Appeal from the New to the old Whigs.*

TEACHING.

The beſt Method of Teaching.

I AM convinced that the method of teaching which approaches moſt nearly to the method of inveſtigation, is incomparably the beſt; ſince not content with ſerving up a few barren and lifeleſs truths, it leads to the ſtock on which they grew; it tends to ſet the reader himſelf in the track of invention, and to direct him into thoſe paths in which the author has made his own diſcoveries, if he ſhould be ſo happy as to have made any that are valuable.——*Sublime and Beautiful.*

THEORY.

A THEORY founded on experiment, and not aſſumed, is always good for ſo much as it explains. Our inability to puſh it indefinitely is no argument at all againſt it. This inability may be owing to our

ignorance of ſome neceſſary *mediums*; to a want of proper application to many other cauſes beſides a defect in the principles we employ.——*Ibid.*

TRANQUILLITY.

A SORT of delightful horror, a ſort of tranquillity tinged with terror; which, as it belongs to ſelf preſervation, is one of the ſtrongeſt of all the paſſions. ——*Ibid.*

TREASON.

FELLOWSHIP in treaſon is a bad ground of confidence.—*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1792.

TRIANGLE.

Poor in its Effects.

BECAUSE too great a length in buildings deſtroys the purpoſe of greatneſs, which it was intended to promote; the perſpective will leſſen it in height as it gains in length; and will bring it at laſt to a point; turning the whole figure into a ſort of triangle, the pooreſt in its effect of almoſt any figure that can be preſented to the eye.——*Sublime and Beautiful.*

TERROR.

THE only difference between pain and terror is, that things which cauſe pain operate on the mind, by the intervention of the body; whereas things that cauſe terror, generally affect the bodily organs by the operation of the mind ſuggeſting the danger; but both agreeing, either primarily, or ſecondarily, in producing a tenſion, contraction, or violent emotion of the nerves, they agree likewiſe in every thing elſe. For it appears very clearly to me, from this, as well as from many other examples, that when the body is diſpoſed by any means whatſoever to ſuch emotions as it would acquire by the means of a certain paſſion, it will of itſelf excite ſomething very like the paſſion in the mind.——*Ibid.*

TIMIDITY.

INTERESTED timidity disgraces as much in the cabinet, as personal timidity does in the field. But timidity, with regard to the well-being of our country, is heroic virtue.—*Speech on American Taxation.*

TOLERATION.

WE all know, that toleration is odious to the intolerant; freedom to oppressors; property to robbers; and all kinds and degrees of prosperity to the envious.——*Speech at Bristol previous to the Election.*

TOLERATION (RELIGIOUS.)

IN many parts of Germany, Protestants and Papists partake the same cities, the same councils, and even the same churches. The unbounded liberality of the King of Prussia's* conduct on this occasion, is known to all the world; and it is of a piece with the other grand maxims of his reign. The magnanimity of the imperial court, breaking through the narrow principles of its predecessors, has indulged its protestant subjects, not only with property, with worship, with liberal education, but with honours and trusts, both civil and military. A worthy protestant gentleman of this country now fills, and fills with credit, an high office in the Austrian Netherlands. Even the Lutheran obstinacy of Sweden has thawed at length, and opened a toleration to all religions. I know myself, that in France the Protestants begin to be at rest. The army, which in that country is every thing, is open to them; and some of the military rewards and decorations which the laws deny, are supplied by others, to make the service acceptable and honourable. The first Minister of Finance in that country is a Protestant. Two years war without a tax, is among the first fruits of their liberality.—— *Ibid.*

* Frederick the Great.

TRADE (DEFINED.)

TRADE is not a limited thing; as if the objects of mutual demand and conſumption could not ſtretch beyond the bounds of our jealouſies. God has given the earth to the children of men, and he has undoubtedly, in giving it to them, given them what is abundantly ſufficient for all their exigencies; not a ſcanty, but a moſt liberal proviſion for them all. The author of our nature has written it ſtrongly in that nature, and has promulgated the ſame law in his written word, that man ſhall eat his bread by his labour; and I am perſuaded, that no man, and no combination of men, for their own ideas of their particular profit, can, without great impiety, undertake to ſay, that he *ſhall not* do ſo; that they have no ſort of right, either to prevent the labour, or to withhold the bread. Ireland having received no *compenſation*, directly or indirectly, for any reſtraints on their trade, ought not, in juſtice or common honeſty, be made ſubject to ſuch reſtraints.——*Two Letters to Gentlemen in Briſtol.*

TRAGEDY.

The Effects of Tragedy.

IT is thus in real calamities. In imitated diſtreſſes the only difference is the pleaſure reſulting from the effects of imitation; for it is never ſo perfect, but we can perceive it is imitation, and on that principle are ſomewhat pleaſed with it. And indeed in ſome caſes we derive as much or more pleaſure from that ſource than from the thing itſelf. But then I imagine we ſhall be much miſtaken if we attribute any conſiderable part of our ſatisfaction in tragedy to the conſideration that tragedy is a deceit, and its repreſentations no realities. The nearer it approaches the reality, and the further it removes us from all idea of fiction, the more perfect is its power. But be its

power of what kind it will, it never approaches to what it repreſents. Chooſe a day on which to repreſent the moſt ſublime and affecting tragedy we have; appoint the moſt favourite actors; ſpare no coſt upon the ſcenes and decorations; unite the greateſt efforts of poetry, painting, and muſic; and when you have collected your audience, juſt at the moment when their minds are erect with expectation, let it be reported that a ſtate criminal of high rank is on the point of being executed in the adjoining ſquare; in a moment the emptineſs of the theatre would demonſtrate the comparative weakneſs of the imitative arts, and proclaim the triumph of the real ſympathy. I believe that this notion of our having a ſimple pain in the reality, yet a delight in the repreſentation, ariſes from hence, that we do not ſufficiently diſtinguiſh what we would by no means chooſe to do, from what we ſhould be eager enough to ſee if it was once done. We delight in ſeeing things, which ſo far from doing, our heartieſt wiſhes would be to ſee redreſſed. This noble capital, the pride of England and of Europe, I believe no man is ſo ſtrangely wicked as to deſire to ſee deſtroyed by a conflagration or an earthquake, though he ſhould be removed himſelf to the greateſt diſtance from the danger. But ſuppoſe ſuch a fatal accident to have happened, what numbers from all parts would crowd to behold the ruins, and amongſt them many who would have been content never to have ſeen London in its glory! Nor is it, either in real or fictitious diſtreſſes, our immunity from them which produces our delight; in my own mind I can diſcover nothing like it. I apprehend that this miſtake is owing to a ſort of ſophiſm, by which we are frequently impoſed upon; it ariſes from our not diſtinguiſhing between what is indeed a neceſſary condition to our doing or ſuffering any thing in general, and what is the *cauſe* of ſome particular act. If a man kills me with a ſword, it is a neceſſary condition to this that we ſhould have been both of us

alive before the fact; and yet it would be abſurd to ſay, that our being both living creatures was the cauſe of his crime and of my death. So it is certain, that it is abſolutely neceſſary my life ſhould be out of any imminent hazard, before I can take a delight in the ſufferings of others, real or imaginary, or indeed in any thing elſe from any cauſe whatſoever. But then it is a ſophiſm to argue from thence, that this immunity is the cauſe of my delight either on theſe or on any occaſions. No one can diſtinguiſh ſuch a cauſe of ſatisfaction in his own mind, I believe; nay, when we do not ſuffer any very acute pain, nor are expoſed to any imminent danger of our lives, we can feel for others, whilſt we ſuffer ourſelves; and often then moſt when we are ſoftened by affliction; we ſee with pity even diſtreſſes which we would accept in the place of our own.—*Sublime and Beautiful.*

TRANSACTIONS OF PAST AGES.

We are very uncorrupt and tolerably enlightened judges of the tranſactions of paſt ages; where no paſſions deceive, and where the whole train of circumſtances, from the trifling cauſe to the tragical event, is ſet in an orderly ſeries before us.—*Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents.*

TYRANT AND HIS FAVOURITE, OR TYRANNY DOUBLED.

There is hardly any prince without a favourite, by whom he is governed in as arbitrary a manner as he governs the wretches ſubjected to him. Here the tyranny is doubled. There are two courts, and two intereſts; both very different from the intereſts of the people. The favourite knows that the regard of a tyrant is as unconſtant and capricious as that of a woman; and concluding his time to be ſhort, he makes haſte to fill up the meaſure of his iniquity, in

rapine, in luxury, and in revenge. Every avenue to the throne is ſhut up. He oppreſſes, and ruins the people, whilſt he perſuades the prince, that thoſe murmurs raiſed by his own oppreſſion are the effects of diſaffection to the prince's government. Then is the natural violence of deſpotiſm inflamed, and aggravated by hatred and revenge. To deſerve well of the ſtate is a crime againſt the prince. To be popular, and to be a traitor, are conſidered as ſynonymous terms. Even virtue is dangerous, as an aſpiring quality, that claims an eſteem by itſelf, and independent of the countenance of the court. What has been ſaid of the chief, is true of the inferior officers of this ſpecies of government; each in his province exerciſing the ſame tyranny, and grinding the people by an oppreſſion, the more ſeverely felt, as it is near them, and exerciſed by baſe and ſubordinate perſons. For the groſs of the people, they are conſidered as a mere herd of cattle; and really in a little time become no better; all principle of honeſt pride, all ſenſe of the dignity of their nature, is loſt in their ſlavery. The day, ſays Homer, which makes a man a ſlave, takes away half his worth; and in fact, he loſes every impulſe to action, but that low and baſe one of fear.—In this kind of government human nature is not only abuſed, and inſulted, but it is actually degraded and ſunk into a ſpecies of brutality.——*Vindication of natural Society.*

TYRANTS.

THE puniſhment of real tyrants is a noble and awful act of juſtice; and it has with truth been ſaid to be conſolatory to the human mind.——*Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents.*

TYRANNY.

FEW are the partizans of departed tyranny.——*Ibid.*

TYRANNY.

TYRANNY is a poor provider. It neither knows how to accumulate, nor how to extract.——*Speech on American Taxation.*

TYRANNY.

THE arguments of tyranny are as contemptible as its force is dreadful.——*Reflections on the Revolutions in France.*

TYRANNY.

NOTHING aggravates tyranny ſo much as contumely. *Quicquid ſuperbia in contumeliis* was charged by a great man of antiquity, as a principal head of offence againſt the governor general of that day.——*Speech on Mr. Fox's Eaſt-India Bill.*

TYRANNY (ANCIENT.)

A GREAT deal of the furniture of ancient tyranny is torn to rags; the reſt is entirely out of faſhion.——*Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents.*

TOULON.

I HAVE Toulon in my eye. It was with infinite ſorrow I heard, that in taking the king of France's fleet in truſt, we inſtantly unrigged and diſmaſted the ſhips, inſtead of keeping them in a condition to eſcape in caſe of diſaſter, and in order to fulfil our truſt, that is, to hold them for the uſe of the owner, and, in the mean time, to employ them for our common ſervice. Theſe ſhips are now ſo circumſtanced, that if we are forced to evacuate Toulon, they muſt fall into the hands of the enemy, or be burnt by ourſelves. I know this is by ſome conſidered as a fine thing for us. But the Athenians ought not to

be better than the Engliſh, or Mr. Pitt leſs virtuous than Ariſtides.

Are we then ſo poor in reſources that we can do no better with eighteen or twenty ſhips of the line than to burn them? Had we ſent for French Royaliſt naval officers, of which ſome hundreds are to be had, and made them ſelect ſuch ſeamen as they could truſt, and filled the reſt with our own and Mediterranean ſeamen, which are all over Italy, to be had by thouſands, and put them under judicious Engliſh commanders in chief, and with a judicious mixture of our own ſubordinates, the Weſt Indies would at this day have been ours. It may be ſaid that theſe French officers would take them for the King of France, and that they would not be in our power. Be it ſo. The iſlands would not be ours, but they would not be jacobinized. This is however a thing impoſſible. They muſt in effect and ſubſtance be ours. But all is upon that falſe principle of diſtruſt, which, not confiding in ſtrength, can never have the full uſe of it. They that pay, and feed, and equip, muſt direct. But I muſt ſpeak plain upon this ſubject. The French iſlands, if they were all our own, ought not to be all kept. A fair partition only ought to be made of thoſe territories. This is a ſubject of policy very ſerious, which has many relations and aſpects. Juſt here I only hint at it as anſwering an objection, whilſt I ſtate the miſchievous conſequences which ſuffer us to be ſurprized into a virtual breach of faith, by confounding our ally with our enemy, becauſe they both belong to the ſame geographical territory.

My clear opinion is, that Toulon ought to be made, what we ſet out with, a royal French city. By the neceſſity of the caſe, it muſt be under the influence, civil and military, of the allies. But the only way of keeping that jealous and diſcordant maſs from tearing its component parts to pieces, and hazarding the loſs of the whole, is to put the place into the no-

minal government of the Regent, his officers being approved by us. This, I ſay, is abſolutely neceſſary for a poiſe amongſt ourſelves. Otherwiſe is it to be believed that the Spaniards, who hold that place with us in a ſort of partnerſhip contrary to our mutual intereſt, will ſee us abſolute maſters of the Mediterranean, with Gibraltar on one ſide, and Toulon on the other, with a quiet and compoſed mind, whilſt we do little leſs than declare that we are to take the whole Weſt Indies into our hands, leaving the vaſt, unwieldy, and feeble body of the Spaniſh dominions in that part of the world abſolutely at our mercy, without any power to balance us in the ſmalleſt degree.

Nothing is ſo fatal to a nation as an extreme of ſelf-partiality, and the total want of conſideration of what others will naturally hope or fear. Spain muſt think ſhe ſees, that we are taking advantage of the confuſions which reign in France, to diſable that country, and, of courſe, every country from affording her protection, and in the end, to turn the Spaniſh monarchy into a province. If ſhe ſaw things in a proper point of light, to be ſure, ſhe would not conſider any other plan of politics as of the leaſt moment in compariſon of the extinction of jacobiniſm. But her miniſters (to ſay the beſt of them), are vulgar politicians. It is no wonder that they ſhould poſtpone this great point, or balance it, by conſiderations of the common politics, that is, the queſtions of power between *ſtate and ſtate*. If we manifeſtly endeavour to deſtroy the balance, eſpecially the maritime and commercial balance, both in Europe and the Weſt Indies (the latter their ſore and vulnerable part) from fear of what France may do for Spain hereafter, is it to be wondered, that Spain, infinitely weaker than we are (weaker, indeed, than ſuch a maſs of empire ever was) ſhould feel the ſame fears from our uncontrouled power, that we give way to ourſelves from a ſuppoſed reſurrection of the ancient power of France under a

monarchy? It ſignifies nothing whether we are wrong or right in the abſtract; but in reſpect to our relation to Spain, with ſuch principles followed up in practice, it is abſolutely impoſſible that any cordial alliance can ſubſiſt between the two nations. If Spain goes, Naples will ſpeedily follow. Pruſſia is quite certain, and thinks of nothing but making a market of the preſent confuſions. Italy is broken and divided; Switzerland is jacobinized, I am afraid, completely. I have long ſeen with pain the progreſs of French principles in that country. Things cannot go on upon the preſent bottom. The poſſeſſion of Toulon, which, well managed, might be of the greateſt advantage, will be the greateſt misfortune that ever happened to this nation. The more we multiply troops there, the more we ſhall multiply cauſes and means of quarrel amongſt ourſelves. I know but one way of avoiding it, which is to give a greater degree of ſimplicity to our politics. Our ſituation does neceſſarily render them a good deal involved. And, to this evil, inſtead of increaſing it, we ought to apply all the remedies in our power.

See what is, in that place, the conſequence (to ſay nothing of every other) of this complexity. Toulon has, as it were, two gates, an Engliſh and a Spaniſh. The Engliſh gate is, by our policy, faſt barred againſt the entrance of any Royaliſts. The Spaniards open theirs, I fear, upon no fixed principle, and with very little judgment. By means, however, of this fooliſh, mean, and jealous policy on our ſide, all the Royaliſts whom the Engliſh might ſelect as moſt practicable, and moſt ſubſervient to honeſt views, are totally excluded. Of thoſe admitted, the Spaniards are maſters. As to the inhabitants they are a neſt of Jacobins which is delivered into our hands, not from principle, but from fear. The inhabitants of Toulon may be deſcribed in few words. It is *diſſertum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis.* The reſt of the ſeaports are of the ſame deſcription.

Another thing which I cannot account for is, the ſending for the biſhop of Toulon, and afterwards forbidding his entrance. This is as directly contrary to the declaration, as it is to the practice of the allied powers. The king of Pruſſia did better. When he took Verdun, he actually re-inſtated the biſhop and his chapter. When he thought he ſhould be the maſter of Chalons, he called the biſhop from Flanders, to put him into poſſeſſion. The Auſtrians have reſtored the clergy wherever they obtained poſſeſſion. We have propoſed to reſtore religion as well as monarchy; and in Toulon we have reſtored neither the one nor the other. It is very likely that the Jacobin Sans-Culottes, or ſome of them, objected to this meaſure, who rather chuſe to have the atheiſtic buffoons of clergy they have got to ſport with, till they are ready to come forward, with the reſt of their worthy brethren, in Paris and other places, to declare that they are a ſet of impoſtors, that they never believed in God, and never will preach any ſort of religion. If we give way to our Jacobins in this point, it is fully and fairly putting the government, civil and eccleſiaſtical, not in the king of France, to whom, as the protector and governor, and in ſubſtance the head of the Gallican church, the nomination to the biſhoprics belonged, and who made the biſhop of Toulon; it does not leave it with him, or even in the hands of the king of England, or the king of Spain; but in the baſeſt Jacobins of a low ſea-port, to exerciſe, *pro tempore*, the ſovereignty. If this point of religion is thus given up, the grand inſtrument for reclaiming France is abandoned.—— *Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1792.

TURKEY.

WHERE the fineſt countries in the moſt genial climates in the world are waſted by peace more than any countries have been worried by war; where arts are

unknown, where manufactures languiſh, where ſcience is extinguiſhed, where agriculture decays, where the human race itſelf melts away and periſhes under the eye of the obſerver.—*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

VARIATION, WHY BEAUTIFUL.

ANOTHER principal property of beautiful objects is, that the line of their parts is continually varying its direction; but it varies it by a very inſenſible deviation; it never varies it ſo quickly as to ſurprize, or by the ſharpneſs of its angle to cauſe any twitching or convulſion of the optic nerve. Nothing long continued in the ſame manner, nothing very ſuddenly varied, can be beautiful; becauſe both are oppoſite to that agreeable relaxation which is the characteriſtic effect of beauty. It is thus in all the ſenſes. A motion in a right line, is that manner of moving next to a very gentle deſcent, in which we meet the leaſt reſiſtance; yet it is not that manner of moving, which, next to a deſcent, wearies us the leaſt. Reſt certainly tends to relax: yet there is a ſpecies of motion which relaxes more than reſt; a gentle oſcillatory motion, ariſing and falling. Rocking ſets children to ſleep better than abſolute reſt; there is, indeed, ſcarce any thing at that age, which gives more pleaſure than to be gently lifted up and down; the manner of playing which their nurſes uſe with children, and the weighing and ſwinging uſed afterwards by themſelves as a favourite amuſement, evince this very ſufficiently. Moſt people muſt have obſerved the ſort of ſenſe they have had, on being ſwiftly drawn in an eaſy coach on a ſmooth turf, with gradual aſcents and declivities. This will give a better idea of the beautiful, and point out its probable cauſe better, than almoſt any thing elſe. On the contrary, when one is hurried over a rough, rocky, broken road, the pain felt by theſe ſudden inequalities ſhews why

ſimilar ſights, feelings, and ſounds, are ſo contrary to beauty: and with regard to the feeling, it is exactly the ſame in its effect, or very nearly the ſame, whether, for inſtance, I move my hand along the ſurface of a body of a certain ſhape, or whether ſuch a body is moved along my hand. But to bring this analogy of the ſenſes home to the eye: if a body preſented to that ſenſe has ſuch a waving ſurface, that the rays of light reflected from it are in a continual inſenſible deviation from the ſtrongeſt to the weakeſt (which is always the caſe in a ſurface gradually unequal) it muſt be exactly ſimilar in its effect on the eye and touch; upon the one of which it operates directly, on the other indirectly. And this body will be beautiful if the lines which compoſe its ſurface are not continued, even ſo varied, in a manner that may weary or diſſipate the attention. The variation itſelf muſt be continually varied.—*Sublime and Beautiful.*

VICTORY.

THE ſeaſon of victory is the time for treating with honor and advantage.——*Letter to the Sheriffs of Briſtol.*

VICTORS (BARBAROUS.)

Their Policy.

THE policy of barbarous victors, who contemn a ſubdued people, and inſult their feelings, has ever been, as much as in them lay, to deſtroy all veſtiges of the ancient country, in religion, in polity, &c.—*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

VOTE. (SEE PARLIAMENT.)

THE taking away of a vote is the taking away the ſhield which the ſubject has, not only againſt the op-

preſſion of power, but that worſt of all oppreſſions, the perſecution of private ſociety, and private manners. No candidate for parliamentary influence is obliged to the leaſt attention towards them, either in cities or counties.—*Letter on the Penal Laws againſt Iriſh Catholics.*

VICINITY (CIVIL.)

The Law of Civil Vicinity.

DISTANCE of place does not extinguiſh the duties or the rights of men; but it often renders their exerciſe impracticable. The ſame circumſtance of diſtance renders the noxious effects of an evil ſyſtem in any community leſs pernicious. But there are ſituations where this difficulty does not occur; and in which, therefore, theſe duties are obligatory, and theſe rights are to be aſſerted. It has ever been the method of public juriſts to draw the analogies on which they form the law of nations, from the principles of law which prevail in civil community. Civil laws are not all of them merely poſitive. Thoſe which are rather concluſions of legal reaſon, than matters of ſtatutable proviſion, belong to univerſal equity, and are univerſally applicable. Almoſt the whole prætorian law is ſuch. There is a *Law of Neighbourhood* which does not leave a man perfect maſter on his own ground. When a neighbour ſees a *new erection*, in the nature of a nuiſance, ſet up at his door, he has a right to repreſent it to the Judge; who, on his part, has a right to order the work to be ſtaid; or if eſtabliſhed, to be removed. On this head, the parent law is expreſs and clear; and has made many wiſe proviſions, which, without deſtroying, regulate and reſtrain the right of *ownerſhip* by the right of *vicinage*. No *innovation* is permitted that may redound, even ſecondarily, to the prejudice of a neighbour. The whole doctrine of that important head of prætorian law, "*De novi operis nunciatione*;"

is founded on the principle, that no *new* uſe ſhould be made of a man's private liberty of operating upon his private property, from whence a detriment may be juſtly apprehended by his neighbour. This law of denunciation is proſpective. It is to anticipate what is called *damnum infectum*, or *damnum nondum factum*, that is a damage juſtly apprehended but not actually done. Even before it is clearly known whether the innovation be damageable or not, the Judge is competent to iſſue a prohibition to innovate, until the point can be determined. This prompt interference is grounded on principles favourable to both parties. It is preventive of miſchief difficult to be repaired, and of ill blood difficult to be ſoftened.—The rule of law, therefore, which comes before the evil, is amongſt the very beſt parts of equity, and juſtifies the promptneſs of the remedy; becauſe, as it is well obſerved, *Res damni infecti celeritatem deſiderat, & periculoſa eſt dilatio.* This right of denunciation does not hold, when things continue, however inconveniently to the neighbourhood, according to the *ancient* mode. For there is a ſort of preſumption againſt novelty, drawn out of a deep conſideration of human nature and human affairs; and the maxim of juriſprudence is well laid down, *Vetuſtas pro lege ſemper habetur.*

Such is the law of civil vicinity. Now where there is no conſtituted Judge, as between independent ſtates there is not, the vicinage itſelf is the natural judge. It is, preventively, the aſſertor of its own rights, or remedially, their avenger. Neighbours are preſumed to take cognizance of each other's acts. "*Vicini, vicinorum facta preſumuntur ſcire.*" This principle, which, like the reſt, is as true of nations as of men, has beſtowed on the grand vicinage of Europe, a duty to know, and a right to prevent, any capital innovation which may amount to the erection of a dangerous nuiſance. Of the importance of that innovation, and the miſchief of that nuiſance, they are, to be ſure, bound to judge not litigiouſly; but it is in their

competence to judge. What in civil ſociety is a ground of action, in politic ſociety is a ground of war. But the exerciſe of that competent juriſdiction is a matter of moral prudence. As ſuits in civil ſociety, ſo war in the political, is ever a matter of great deliberation. It is not this or that particular proceeding picked out here and there, as a ſubject of quarrel, that will do. There muſt be an aggregate of miſchief.—*Regicide Peace.*

VULGAR AND MECHANICAL POLITICIANS.
(SEE AMERICA.)

ALL this, I know well enough, will ſound wild and chimerical to the profane herd of thoſe vulgar and mechanical politicians, who have no place among us; a ſort of people who think that nothing exiſts but what is groſs and material; and who therefore, far from being qualified to be directors of the great movement of empire, are not fit to turn a wheel in the machine. But to men truly initiated and rightly taught, theſe ruling and maſter principles, which, in the opinion of ſuch men as I have mentioned, have no ſubſtantial exiſtence, are in truth every thing, and all in all. Magnanimity in politics is not ſeldom the trueſt wiſdom; and a great empire and little minds go ill together. If we are conſcious of our ſituation, and glow with zeal to fill our place as becomes our ſtation and ourſelves, we ought to auſpicate all our public proceedings on America, with the old warning of the church, *Surſum corda!* We ought to elevate our minds to the greatneſs of that truſt to which the order of Providence has called us. By adverting to the dignity of this high calling, our anceſtors have turned a ſavage wilderneſs into a glorious empire; and have made the moſt extenſive, and the only honourable conqueſts; not by deſtroying, but by promoting, the wealth, the number, the happineſs, of the human race. Let us get an American revenue

as we have got an American empire. Engliſh privileges have made it all that it is; Engliſh privileges alone will make it all it can be.——*Speech on Conciliation with American.*

UGLINESS.

THE true oppoſite to beauty is not diſproportion or deformity, but *uglineſs;* and as it proceeds from cauſes oppoſite to thoſe of poſitive beauty, we cannot conſider it until we come to treat of that. Between beauty and uglineſs there is a ſort of mediocrity, in which the aſſigned proportions are moſt commonly found; but this has no effect upon the paſſions.——*Sublime and Beautiful.*

WAR.

Ground of War with France.

VARIOUS perſons may concur in the ſame meaſure on various grounds. They may be various, without being contrary to, or excluſive of, each other. I thought the inſolent, unprovoked aggreſſion of the Regicide upon our ally of Holland, a good ground of war; I think his manifeſt attempt to overturn the balance of Europe a good ground of war; as a good ground of war I conſider his declaration of war on his Majeſty and his kingdom. But though I have taken all theſe to my aid, I conſider them as nothing more than as a ſort of evidence to indicate the treaſonable mind within. It was not for their former declaration of war, nor for any ſpecific act of hoſtility that I primarily wiſhed to reſiſt them, or to perſevere in my reſiſtance. It was becauſe the faction in France had aſſumed a form, had adopted a body of principles and maxims, and had regularly and ſyſtematically acted on them, by which ſhe virtually had put herſelf in a poſture which was in itſelf a declaration of war againſt mankind.——*Regicide Peace.*

WAR,

View of War that touches our own Country.

LET the portion of our hiſtory from the year 1689 to 1713 be brought before us. We ſhall find, that in all that period of twenty-four years, there were not above ſix that could be called an interval of peace; and this interval was in reality nothing more than a very active preparation for war. During that period, every one of the propoſitions of peace came from the enemy. The firſt, when they were accepted, at the peace of Ryſwick. The ſecond, where they were rejected at the congreſs at Gertrudenburgh. The laſt, when the war ended by the treaty of Utrecht. Even then, a very great part of the nation, and that which contained by far the moſt intelligent ſtateſmen, was againſt the concluſion of the war. I do not enter into the merits of that queſtion as between the parties. I only ſtate the exiſtence of that opinion as a fact. I mention the length of the war as a proof, that though the countries which now compoſe the kingdom, for a part of the time were not united, and through all the time continued with a raw and ill cemented union, and though they were further ſplit into parties as vehement, and more equally divided than now they are, and that we were poſſeſſed of far leſs abundant reſources in all kinds than we now enjoy.—I mean to mark, that under all theſe diſadvantages the Engliſh nation was then a great people; that we had then an high mind, and a conſtancy unconquerable; that we were then inſpired with no flaſhy paſſions, but ſuch as were durable as well as warm; ſuch as correſponded to the great intereſts we had at ſtake. This force of character was inſpired, as all ſuch ſpirit muſt ever be, from above. Government gave the impulſe. As well may we fancy that of itſelf the ſea will ſwell, and without winds the billows will inſult the adverſe ſhore, as that the groſs maſs of the people will be

moved and elevated without the influence of ſuperior authority, or ſuperior mind.

This impulſe ought, in my opinion, to have been given in this war; and it ought to have been continued to it at every inſtant. It is made, if ever war was made, to touch all the great ſprings of action in the human breaſts. It ought not to have been a war of apology. The miniſter had, in this conflict, wherewithal to glory in ſucceſs; to be conſoled in adverſity; to hold high his principle in all fortunes. If it were not given him to ſupport the falling edifice, he ought to bury himſelf under the ruins of the civilized world. All the art of Greece, and all the pride and power of eaſtern monarchs, never heaped upon their aſhes ſo grand a monument.

There were days when his great mind was up to the criſis of the world he is called to act in. His manly eloquence was equal to the elevated wiſdom of ſuch ſentiments. But the little have triumphed over the great; an unnatural, not an unuſual victory. I am ſure you cannot forget with how much uneaſineſs we heard in converſation, the language of more than one gentleman at the opening of this conteſt, "that he was willing to try the war for a year or "two, and if it did not ſucceed, then to vote for "peace." As if war was a matter of experiment! As if you could take it up or lay it down as an idle frolic! As if the dire goddeſs that preſides over it, with her murderous ſpear in her hand, and her gorgon at her breaſt, was a coquette to be flirted with! We ought with reverence to approach that tremendous divinity, that loves courage, but commands counſel. War never leaves a nation where it was found. The interval between that and peace is, indeed, "a very "hideous dream, in which the genius and the mortal "inſtruments are ſeriouſly at work." It is never to be entered into without a mature deliberation; not a deliberation lengthened out into a perplexing indeciſion, but a deliberation leading to a ſure and fixed

judgment. When ſo taken up, it is not to be abandoned without reaſon as valid, as fully, and as extenſively conſidered; for peace may be made as unadviſedly as war. Nothing is ſo raſh as fear; and the counſels of puſillanimity very rarely put off, whilſt they are always ſure to aggravate the evils they would fly from.

In that great war carried on againſt Louis the XIVth, for near eighteen years, Government ſpared no pains to ſatisfy the people, that though they were to be animated by a deſire of glory, glory was not their ultimate object: but that every thing dear to them, in religion, in law, in liberty, every thing which as freemen, as Engliſhmen, and as citizens of the great commonwealth of Chriſtendom, they had at heart, was then at ſtake. Whether they did not exaggerate the danger I will not diſpute. A danger, and no ſmall danger, unqueſtionably there was; and that long and arduous war was purſued, upon at leaſt as ſolid and manly grounds, as the peace was made which put an end to it. A danger to avert a danger—a preſent inconvenience and ſuffering to prevent a foreſeen future, and a worſe calamity—theſe are the motives that belong to an animal, who, in his conſtitution, is at once adventurous and provident; circumſpect, and daring; whom his Creator has made, as the Poet ſays, "of large diſcourſe, looking before "and after." But never can a vehement and ſuſtained ſpirit of fortitude be kindled in a people by a war of calculation. It has nothing that can keep the mind erect under the guſts of adverſity. Even where men are willing, as ſometimes they are, to barter their blood for lucre, to hazard their ſafety to gratify their avarice, that paſſion, like all the paſſions, muſt ſee it's objects diſtinct and near at hand.

The paſſions are hungry and impatient. Speculative plunder; contingent ſpoil; future long adjourned uncertain booty; pillage which muſt enrich a late poſterity, and which poſſibly may not reach to

poſterity at all; theſe, for any length of time, will never ſupport a mercenary war. The people are in the right. The calculation of profit in all ſuch wars is falſe. On balancing the account of ſuch wars, ten thouſand hogſheads of ſugar are purchaſed at ten thouſand times their price. The blood of man ſhould never be ſhed but to redeem the blood of man. It is well ſhed for our family, for our friends, for our God, for our country, for our kind. The reſt is vanity; the reſt is crime.

In the war of the Grand Alliance, moſt of theſe conſiderations voluntarily and naturally had their part. Some were preſſed into the ſervice. The political intereſt eaſily went in the track of the natural ſentiment. In the reverſe courſe the carriage does not follow freely. I am ſure the natural feeling, as I have juſt ſaid, is a far more predominant ingredient in this war, than in that of any other that ever was waged by this kingdom.

If the war made to prevent the union of two crowns upon one head was a juſt war, this, which is made to prevent the tearing all crowns from all heads which ought to wear them, and with the crowns to ſmite off the ſacred heads themſelves, this is a juſt war.

If a war to prevent Louis the Fourteenth from impoſing his religion was juſt, a war to prevent the murderers of Louis the Sixteenth from impoſing their irreligion upon us is juſt; a war to prevent the operation of a ſyſtem, which makes life without dignity, and death without hope, is a juſt war.

If to preſerve political independence and civil freedom to nations, was a juſt ground of war; a war to preſerve national independence, property, liberty, life, and honour, from certain univerſal havock, is a war juſt, neceſſary, manly, pious; and we are bound to perſevere in it by every principle, divine and human, as long as the ſyſtem which menaces them all, and all equally, has an exiſtence in the world.—— *Ibid.*

WAR.

The preſent a religious War.

We cannot, if we would, delude ourſelves about the true ſtate of this dreadful conteſt. It is a religious war. It includes in its object undoubtedly every other intereſt of ſociety as well as this; but this is the principal and leading feature. It is through this deſtruction of religion that our enemies propoſe the accompliſhment of all their other views. The French revolution, impious at once and fanatical, had no other plan for domeſtic power and foreign empire. Look at all the proceedings of the National Aſſembly, from the firſt day of declaring itſelf ſuch in the year 1789, to this very hour, and you will find full half of their buſineſs to be directly on this ſubject. In fact it is the ſpirit of the whole. The religious ſyſtem, called the conſtitutional church, was on the face of the whole proceeding ſet up only as a mere temporary amuſement to the people, and ſo conſtantly ſtated in all their converſations, till the time ſhould come, when they might with ſafety caſt off the very appearance of all religion whatſoever, and perſecute chriſtianity throughout Europe with fire and ſword. The conſtitutional clergy are not the miniſters of any religion: they are the agents and inſtruments of this horrible conſpiracy againſt all morals. It was from a ſenſe of this, that in the Engliſh addition to the articles propoſed at St. Domingo, tolerating all religions, we very wiſely refuſed to ſuffer that kind of traitors and buffoons.

This religious war is not a controverſy between ſect and ſect as formerly, but a war againſt all ſects and all religions. The queſtion is not whether you are to overturn the catholic, to ſet up the proteſtant. Such an idea in the preſent ſtate of the world is too contemptible. Our buſineſs is to leave to the ſchools the diſcuſſion of the controverted points, abating as much as we can the acrimony of diſpu-

tants on all ſides. It is for chriſtian ſtateſmen, as the world is now circumſtanced, to ſecure their common baſis, and not to riſque the ſubverſion of the whole fabric by purſuing theſe diſtinctions with an ill-timed zeal. We have in the preſent grand alliance, all modes of government as well as all modes of religion. In government, we mean to reſtore that which, notwithſtanding our diverſity of forms we are all agreed in, as fundamental in government. The ſame principle ought to guide us in the religious part; conforming the mode, not to our particular ideas (for in that point we have no ideas in common) but to what will beſt promote the great general ends of the alliance. As ſtateſmen we are to ſee which of thoſe modes beſt ſuits with the intereſts of ſuch a commonwealth as we wiſh to ſecure and promote. There can be no doubt, but that the catholic religion, which is fundamentally the religion of France, muſt go with the Monarchy of France; we know that the Monarchy did not ſurvive the Hierarchy, no not even in appearance, for many months; in ſubſtance, not for a ſingle hour. As little can it exiſt in future, if that pillar is taken away; or even ſhattered and impaired.——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1792.

WALES.

Sketch of Welch Hiſtory.

My next example is Wales. This country was ſaid to be reduced by Henry the Third. It was ſaid more truly to be ſo by Edward the Firſt. But though then conquered, it was not looked upon as any part of the realm of England. Its old conſtitution, whatever that might have been, was deſtroyed; and no good one was ſubſtituted in its place. The care of that tract was put into the hands of lords marchers—a form of government of a very ſingular kind; a ſtrange heterogeneous monſter, ſomething between

hoſtility and government; perhaps it has a ſort of reſemblance, according to the modes of thoſe times, to that of commander in chief at preſent, to whom all civil power is granted as ſecondary. The manners of the Welſh nation followed the genius of the government: the people were ferocious, reſtive, ſavage, and uncultivated; ſometimes compoſed, never pacified. Wales within itſelf, was in perpetual diſorder; and it kept the frontier of England in perpetual alarm. Benefits from it to the ſtate, there were none. Wales was only known to England, by incurſion and invaſion.

Sir, during that ſtate of things, parliament was not idle. They attempted to ſubdue the fierce ſpirit of the Welch by all ſorts of rigorous laws. They prohibited by ſtatute the ſending all ſorts of arms into Wales, as you prohibit by proclamation (with ſomething more of doubt on the legality) the ſending arms to America. They diſarmed the Welſh by ſtatute, as you attempted (but ſtill with more queſtion on the legality) to diſarm New England by an inſtruction. They made an act to drag offenders from Wales into England for trial, as you have done (but with more hardſhip) with regard to America. By another act, where one of the parties was an Engliſhman, they ordained, that his trial ſhould be always by Engliſh. They made acts to reſtrain trade, as you do; and they prevented the Welſh from the uſe of fairs and markets, as you do the Americans from fiſheries and foreign ports. In ſhort, when the ſtatute-book was not quite ſo much ſwelled as it is now, you find no leſs than fifteen acts of penal regulation on the ſubject of Wales.

Here we rub our hands—A fine body of precedents for the authority of parliament and the uſe of it!—I admit it fully; and pray add likewiſe to theſe precedents, that all the while, Wales rid this kingdom like an *incubus;* that it was an unprofitable and oppreſſive burthen; and that an Engliſhman travelling

in that country could not go ſix yards from the high road without being murdered.

The march of the human mind is ſlow. Sir, it was not, until after two hundred years, diſcovered, that by an eternal law, providence had decreed vexation to violence; and poverty to rapine. Your anceſtors did however at length open their eyes to the ill huſbandry of injuſtice. They found that the tyranny of a free people could of all tyrannies the leaſt be endured; and that laws made againſt an whole nation were not the moſt effectual methods for ſecuring its obedience. Accordingly, in the twenty-ſeventh year of Henry VIII. the courſe was entirely altered. With a preamble ſtating the entire and perfect rights of the crown of England, it gave to the Welſh all the rights and privileges of Engliſh ſubjects. A political order was eſtabliſhed; the military power gave way to the civil; the marches were turned into counties. But that a nation ſhould have a right to Engliſh liberties, and yet no ſhare at all in the fundamental ſecurity of theſe liberties, the grant of their own property, ſeemed a thing ſo incongruous, that eight years after, that is, in the thirty-fifth of that reign, a complete and not ill-proportioned repreſentation by counties and boroughs was beſtowed upon Wales, by act of parliament. From that moment, as by a charm, the tumults ſubſided; obedience was reſtored; peace, order, and civilization, followed in the train of liberty.—When the day-ſtar of the Engliſh conſtitution had ariſen in their hearts, all was harmony within and without—

Simul alba nautis
Stella refulſit,
Defluit ſaxis agitatus humor:
Concidunt venti, fugiúntque nubes:
Et minax (quòd ſic voluere) ponto
Unda recumbit.

Speech on Conciliation with America.

WEALTH.

It is the intent of the commercial world that wealth ſhould be found every where.—*Two Letters to Gentlemen in Briſtol.*

WEALTH OF FRANCE IN 1785.

The wealth of a country is another, and no contemptible ſtandard, by which me may judge whether, on the whole, a government be protecting or deſtructive. France far exceeds England in the multitude of her people; but I apprehend that her comparative wealth is much inferior to ours; that it is not ſo equal in the diſtribution, nor ſo ready in the circulation. I believe the difference in the form of the two governments to be amongſt the cauſes of this advantage on the ſide of England. I ſpeak of England, not of the whole Britiſh dominions; which, if compared with thoſe of France, will, in ſome degree, weaken the comparative rate of wealth upon our ſide. But that wealth, which will not endure a compariſon with the riches of England, may conſtitute a very reſpectable degree of opulence. Mr. Necker's book publiſhed in 1785, contains an accurate and intereſting collection of facts relative to public œconomy and to political arithmetic; and his ſpeculations on the ſubject are in general wiſe and liberal. In that work he gives an idea of the ſtate of France, very remote from the portrait of a country whoſe government was a perfect grievance, an abſolute evil, admitting no cure but through the violent and uncertain remedy of a total revolution. He affirms, that from the year 1726 to the year 1784, there was coined at the mint of France, in the ſpecies of gold and ſilver, to the amount of about one hundred millions of pounds ſterling.

It is impoſſible that Mr. Necker ſhould be miſtaken in the amount of the bullion which has been coined

in the mint. It is a matter of official record. The reaſonings of this able financier, concerning the quantity of gold and ſilver which remained for circulation, when he wrote in 1785, that is about four years before the depoſition and impriſonment of the French king, are not of equal certainty; but they are laid on grounds ſo apparently ſolid, that it is not eaſy to refuſe a conſiderable degree of aſſent to his calculation. He calculates the *numeraire*, or what we call *ſpecie*, then actually exiſting in France, at about eighty-eight millions of the ſame Engliſh money. A great accumulation of wealth for one country, large as that country is? Mr. Neckar was ſo far from conſidering this influx of wealth as likely to ceaſe, when he wrote in 1785, that he preſumes upon a future annual increaſe of two per cent. upon the money brought into France during the periods from which he computed.—*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

WORDS.

How Words influence the Paſſions.

Now, as words affect, not by any original power, but by repreſentation, it might be ſuppoſed that their influence over the paſſions ſhould be but light; yet it is quite otherwiſe; for we find by experience that eloquence and poetry are as capable, nay indeed much more capable, of making deep and lively impreſſions than any other arts, and even than nature itſelf, in very many caſes. And this ariſes chiefly from theſe three cauſes. Firſt, that we take an extraordinary part in the paſſions of others, and that we are eaſily affected and brought into ſympathy by any tokens which are ſhewn of them; and there are no tokens which can expreſs all the circumſtances of moſt paſſions ſo fully as words; ſo that if a perſon ſpeaks upon any ſubject, he can not only convey the ſubject to you, but likewiſe the manner in which he is himſelf

affected by it. Certain it is, that the influence of moſt things on our paſſions, is not ſo much from the things themſelves, as from our opinions concerning them; and theſe again depend very much on the opinions of other men, conveyable for the moſt part by words only. Secondly, there are many things of a very affecting nature, which can ſeldom occur in the reality, but the words which repreſent them often do; and thus they have an opportunity of making a deep impreſſion, and taking root in the mind, whilſt the idea of the reality was tranſient; and to ſome perhaps never really occurred in any ſhape, to whom it is, notwithſtanding, very affecting, as war, death, famine, &c. Beſides, many ideas have never been at all preſented to the ſenſes of any men but by words, as God, angels, devils, heaven, and hell, all of which have however a great influence over the paſſions. Thirdly, by words we have it in our power to make ſuch *combinations* as we cannot poſſibly do otherwiſe. By this power of combining we are able, by the addition of well-choſen circumſtances, to give a new life and force to the ſimple object. In painting we may repreſent any fine figure we pleaſe; but we never can give it thoſe enlivening touches which it may receive from words. To repreſent an angel in a picture, you can only draw a beautiful young man winged; but what painting can furniſh out any thing ſo grand as the addition of one word, "the angel of the *Lord?*" It is true, I have here no clear idea; but theſe words affect the mind more than the ſenſible image did, which is all I contend for. A picture of Priam dragged to the altar's foot, and there murdered, if it were well executed, would undoubtedly be very moving; but there are very aggravating circumſtances, which it could never repreſent:

Sanguine fœdantem quos ipſe ſacraverat *ignes.*

As a further inſtance, let us conſider thoſe lines of Milton, where he deſcribes the travels of the fallen angels through their diſmal habitation;

——*O'er many a dark and dreary vale*
They paſs'd, and many a region dolorous;
O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp;
Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and ſhades of death,
A univerſe of death.

Here is diſplayed the force of union in

Rocks, caves, lakes, dens, bogs, fens, and ſhades;

which yet would loſe the greateſt part of the effect, if they were not the

Rocks, caves, lakes, dens, bogs, fens, and ſhades——
—— *of* Death.

This idea, or this affection cauſed by a word, which nothing but a word could annex to the others, raiſes a very great degree of the ſublime; and this ſublime is raiſed yet higher by what follows, a "*univerſe of Death.*" Here are again two ideas not preſentable but by language; and an union of them great and amazing beyond conception; if they may properly be called ideas which preſent no diſtinct image to the mind;—but ſtill it will be difficult to conceive how words can move the paſſions which belong to real objects, without repreſenting theſe objects clearly. This is difficult to us, becauſe we do not ſufficiently diſtinguiſh, in our obſervations upon language, between a clear expreſſion, and a ſtrong expreſſion. Theſe are frequently confounded with each other, though they are in reality extremely different. The former regards the underſtanding; the latter belongs to the paſſions. The one deſcribes a thing as it is; the other deſcribes it as it is felt. Now, as there is a moving tone of voice, an impaſſioned countenance, an agitated geſture, which affect independently of the things about which they are exerted, ſo there are words, and certain diſpoſitions of words, which being peculiarly devoted to paſſionate ſubjects, and always uſed by thoſe who are under the influence of any paſſion, touch and move us more than thoſe

which far more clearly and diſtinctly expreſs the ſubject matter. We yield to ſympathy what we refuſe to deſcription. The truth is, all verbal deſcription, merely as naked deſcription, though never ſo exact, conveys ſo poor and inſufficient an idea of the thing deſcribed, that it could ſcarcely have the ſmalleſt effect, if the ſpeaker did not call in to his aid thoſe modes of ſpeech that mark a ſtrong and lively feeling in himſelf. Then, by the contagion of our paſſions, we catch a fire already kindled in another, which probably might never have been ſtruck out by the object deſcribed. Words, by ſtrongly conveying the paſſions, by thoſe means which we have already mentioned, fully compenſate for their weakneſs in other reſpects. It may be obſerved, that very poliſhed languages, and ſuch as are praiſed for their ſuperior clearneſs and perſpicuity, are generally deficient in ſtrength. The French language has that perfection and that defect. Whereas the oriental tongues, and in general the languages of moſt unpoliſhed people, have a great force and energy of expreſſion; and this is but natural. Uncultivated people are but ordinary obſervers of things, and not critical in diſtinguiſhing them; but, for that reaſon, they admire more, and are more affected with what they ſee, and therefore expreſs themſelves in a warmer and more paſſionate manner. If the affection be well conveyed, it will work its effect without any clear idea; often without any idea at all of the thing which has originally given riſe to it.

It might be expected from the fertility of the ſubject, that I ſhould conſider poetry as it regards the ſublime and beautiful more at large; but it muſt be obſerved that in this light it has been often and well handled already. It was not my deſign to enter into the criticiſm of the ſublime and beautiful in any art, but to attempt to lay down ſuch principles as may tend to aſcertain, to diſtinguiſh and to form a ſort of ſtandard for them; which purpoſes I thought

might be beſt effected by an enquiry into the properties of ſuch things in nature, as raiſe love and aſtoniſhment in us; and by ſhewing in what manner they operated to produce theſe paſſions. Words were only ſo far to be conſidered, as to ſhew upon what principle they were capable of being the repreſentatives of theſe natural things, and by what powers they were able to affect us often as ſtrongly as the things they repreſent, and ſometimes much more ſtrongly.—*Sublime and Beautiful.*

WHIGS (NEW AND ANCIENT.)

THESE new Whigs hold, that the ſovereignty, whether exerciſed by one or many, did not only originate *from* the people (a poſition not denied, nor worth denying or aſſenting to) but that, in the people the ſame ſovereignty conſtantly and unalienably reſides; that the people may lawfully depoſe kings, not only for miſconduct, but without any miſconduct at all; that they may ſet up any new faſhion of government for themſelves, or continue without any government at their pleaſure; that the people are eſſentially their own rule, and their will the meaſure of their conduct; that the tenure of magiſtracy is not a proper ſubject of contract; becauſe magiſtrates have duties, but no rights; and that if a contract *de facto* is made with them in one age, allowing that it binds at all, it only binds thoſe who were immediately concerned in it, but does not paſs to poſterity. Theſe doctrines concerning the *people* (a term which they are far from accurately defining, but by which, from many circumſtances, it is plain enough they mean their own faction, if they ſhould grow by early arming, by treachery, or violence, into the prevailing force) tend, in my opinion, to the utter ſubverſion, not only of all government, in all modes, and to all ſtable ſecurities for rational freedom, but to all the rules and principles of morality itſelf.

I aſſert, that the ancient whigs held doctrines, totally different from thoſe I have laſt mentioned. I aſſert, that the foundations laid down by the Commons, on the trial of Doctor Sacheverel, for juſtifying the revolution of 1688, are the very ſame laid down in Mr. Burke's Reflections; that is to ſay,—a breach of the *original contract*, implied and expreſſed in the conſtitution of this country, as a ſcheme of government fundamentally and inviolably fixed in King, Lords, and Commons.—That the fundamental ſubverſion of this antient conſtitution, by one of its parts, having been attempted, and in effect accompliſhed, juſtified the revolution. That it was juſtified *only* upon the *neceſſity* of the caſe; as the *only* means left for the recovery of that *antient* conſtitution, formed by the *original contract* of the Britiſh ſtate; as well as for the future preſervation of the *ſame* government.

Theſe ſocieties of modern Whigs puſh their inſolence as far as it can go. In order to prepare the minds of the people for treaſon and rebellion, they repreſent the king as tainted with principles of deſpotiſm, from the circumſtance of his having dominions in Germany. In direct defiance of the moſt notorious truth, they deſcribe his government there to be a deſpotiſm; whereas it is a free conſtitution, in which the ſtates of the electorate have their part in the government; and this privilege has never been infringed by the king, or, that I have heard of, by any of his predeceſſors. The conſtitution of the electoral dominions has indeed a double control, both from the laws of the empire, and from the privileges of the country. Whatever rights the king enjoys as elector, have been always parentally exerciſed, and the calumnies of theſe ſcandalous ſocieties have not been authorized by a ſingle complaint of oppreſſion——*Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.*

Character of the Whigs in the Reign of Queen Anne.

In one of the moſt fortunate periods of our hiſtory this country was governed by a *connexion;* I mean the great connexion of Whigs in the reign of Queen Anne. They were complimented upon the principle of this connexion by a poet who was in high eſteem with them. Addiſon, who knew their ſentiments, could not praiſe them for what they conſidered as no proper ſubject of commendation. As a poet who knew his buſineſs, he could not applaud them for a thing which in general eſtimation was not highly reputable. Addreſſing himſelf to Britain,

Thy favourites grow not up by fortune's ſport,
Or from the crimes or follies of a court.
On the firm baſis of deſert they riſe,
From long-try'd faith, and friendſhip's holy ties.

The Whigs of thoſe days believed that the only proper method of riſing into power, was through hard eſſays of practiſed friendſhip and experimented fidelity. At that time it was not imagined that patriotiſm was a bloody idol, which required the ſacrifice of children and parents, or deareſt connexions in private life, and of all the virtues that riſe from thoſe relations. They were not of that ingenious paradoxical morality, to imagine that a ſpirit of moderation was properly ſhewn in patiently bearing the ſufferings of your friends; or that diſintereſtedneſs was clearly manifeſted at the expence of other people's fortune. They believed that no men could act with effect, who did not act in concert; that no men could act in concert who did not act with confidence; and that no men could act with confidence, who were not bound together by common opinions, common affections, and common intereſts.

Theſe wiſe men, for ſuch I muſt call Lord Sunderland, Lord Godolphin, Lord Sommers, and Lord Marlborough, were too well principled in theſe maxims

upon which the whole fabric of public ſtrength is built, to be blown off their ground by the breath of every childiſh talker. They were not afraid that they ſhould be called an ambitious junto; or that their reſolution to ſtand or fall together ſhould, by placemen, be interpreted into a ſcuffle for places.—*Ibid.*

WIT AND JUDGMENT.

Mr. Locke very juſtly and finely obſerves of wit, that it is chiefly converſant in tracing reſemblances: he remarks at the ſame time, that the buſineſs of judgment is rather in finding differences. It may perhaps appear, on this ſuppoſition, that there is no material diſtinction between the wit and the judgment, as they both ſeem to reſult from different operations of the ſame faculty of *comparing*. But in reality, whether they are or are not dependant on the ſame power of the mind, they differ ſo very materially in many reſpects, that a perfect union of wit and judgment is one of the rareſt things in the world. When two diſtinct objects are unlike to each other, it is only what we expect; things are in their common way; and therefore they make no impreſſion on the imagination: but when two diſtinct objects have a reſemblance, we are ſtruck, we attend to them, and we are pleaſed. The mind of man has naturally a far greater alacrity and ſatisfaction in tracing reſemblances than in ſearching for differences; becauſe by making reſemblances we produce *new images;* we unite, we create, we enlarge our ſtock; but in making diſtinctions, we offer no food at all to the imagination; the taſk itſelf is more ſevere and irkſome, and what pleaſure we derive from it is ſomething of a negative and indirect nature. A piece of news is told me in the morning; this, merely as a piece of news, as a fact added to my ſtock, gives me ſome pleaſure. In the evening I find there was nothing in it. What do I gain by this, but the diſſatisfaction to find that I had been impoſed upon? Hence it is that men are much

WHIG to incredulity.

Character of the Whig the moſt ignorant

IN one of the mo quently excelled in
this country was metaphors, and allegories,
the great conne backward in diſtinguiſhing
Anne. They And it is for a reaſon of this
of this con the Oriental writers, though
with them and though they often ſtrike
could n admirable, they ſeldom take
proper that; that is, they are taken with
knew have them exact; they paint it ſtrongly, and
thi general reſemblance; they take no notice of the difference which may be
p found between the things compared.——*Sublime and Beautiful.*

WILL AND DUTY.

The Author of our Being has diſpoſed us not according to our Will but his own.

I CANNOT too often recommend it to the ſerious conſideration of all men, who think civil ſociety to be within the province of moral juriſdiction, that if we owe to it any duty, it is not ſubject to our will. Duties are not voluntary. Duty and will are even contradictory terms. Now, though ſociety might be at firſt a voluntary act (which in many caſes it undoubtedly was) it continues under a permanent ſtanding covenant, co-exiſting with the ſociety; and it attaches upon every individual of that ſociety, without any formal act of his own. This is warranted by the general practice, ariſing out of the general ſenſe of mankind. Men without their choice derive benefits from that aſſociation; without their choice they are ſubjected to duties in conſequence of theſe benefits; and without their choice they enter into a virtual obligation as binding as any that is actual. Look through the whole of life and the whole ſyſtem of duties. Much the ſtrongeſt moral obligations are ſuch as were never the reſults of our option. I allow, that if no ſupreme ruler exiſts, wiſe to form, and potent to enforce, the moral law, there

no ſanction to any contract, virtual or even actual, againſt the will of prevalent power. On that hypotheſis, let any ſet of men be ſtrong enough to ſet their duties at defiance, and they ceaſe to be duties any longer. We have but this one appeal againſt irreſiſtible power—

Si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma,
At ſperate Deos memores fandi atque nefandi.

Taking it for granted that I do not write to the diſciples of the Pariſian philoſophy, I may aſſume, that the awful author of our being is the author of our place in the order of exiſtence; and that having diſpoſed and marſhalled us by a divine tactic, not according to our will, but according to his, he has, in and by that diſpoſition, virtually ſubjected us to act the part which belongs to the place aſſigned us. We have obligations to mankind at large, which are not in conſequence of any ſpecial voluntary pact. They ariſe from the relation of man to man, and the relation of man to God, which relations are not matters of choice. On the contrary, the force of all the pacts which we enter into with any particular perſon amongſt them, depends upon thoſe prior obligations. In ſome caſes the ſubordinate relations are voluntary, in others they are neceſſary, but the duties are all compulſive. When we marry, the choice is voluntary, but the duties are not matter of choice. They are dictated by the nature of the ſituation. Dark and inſcrutable are the ways by which we come into the world. The inſtincts which give riſe to this myſterious proceſs of nature are not of our making. But out of phyſical cauſes, unknown to us, perhaps unknowable, ariſe moral duties, which, as we are able perfectly to comprehend, we are bound indiſpenſably to perform. Children are not conſenting to their relation, but their relation, without their actual conſent, binds them to its duties; or rather it implies their conſent, becauſe the preſumed conſent of every rational creature is in uniſon with the prediſpoſed

order of things. Men come in that manner into a community with the ſocial ſtate of their parents, endowed with all the benefits, loaded with all the duties of their ſituation. If the ſocial ties and ligaments, ſpun out of thoſe phyſical relations which are the elements of the commonwealth, in moſt caſes begin, and always continue, independently of our will, ſo does that relation called our country, which comprehends (as it has been well ſaid) "all the charities of all," bind us without any ſtipulation on our part. Nor are we left without powerful inſtincts to make this duty as dear and grateful to us, as it is awful and coercive. Our country is not a thing of mere phyſical locality. It conſiſts, in a great meaſure, in the ancient order into which we are born. We may have the ſame geographical ſituation, but another country; as we may have the ſame country in another ſoil. The place that determines our duty to our country is a ſocial, civil relation. ——*Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.*

WRITERS.

WRITERS, eſpecially when they act in a body, and with one direction, have great influence on the public mind.—*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

WRITERS, (FRENCH.)

THESE writers, like the propagators of all novelties, pretended a great zeal for the poor, and the lower orders, whilſt in their ſatires they rendered hateful, by every exaggeration, the faults of courts, of nobility, and of prieſthood. They became a ſort of demagogues. They ſerved as a link to unite, in favour of one object, obnoxious wealth to reſtleſs and deſperate poverty.——*Ibid.*

ZEAL.

A ZEAL in the larger part carries the force of the whole.——*Regicide Peace.*

CHARACTERS.

ANTOINETTE, LATE QUEEN OF FRANCE.

IT is now (1791) ſixteen or ſeventeen years ſince I ſaw the queen of France, then the dauphineſs, at Verſailles; and ſurely never lighted on this orb, which ſhe hardly ſeemed to touch, a more delightful viſion. I ſaw her juſt above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated ſphere ſhe juſt began to move in—glittering like the morning-ſtar, full of life, and ſplendor, and joy. Oh! what a revolution! and what an heart muſt I have, to contemplate without emotion that elevation, and that fall! Little did I dream when ſhe added titles of veneration to thoſe of enthuſiaſtic, diſtant, reſpectful love, that ſhe ſhould ever be obliged to carry the ſharp antidote againſt diſgrace concealed in that boſom; little did I dream that I ſhould have lived to ſee ſuch diſaſters fallen upon her in a nation of gallant men, in a nation of men of honour and of cavaliers. I thought ten thouſands ſwords muſt have leaped from their ſcabbards to avenge even a look that threatened her with inſult.—But the age of chivalry is gone.—That of ſophiſters, œconomiſts, and calculators, has ſucceeded; and the glory of Europe is extinguiſhed for ever. Never, never more, ſhall we behold that generous loyalty to rank and ſex, that proud ſubmiſſion, that dignified obedience, that ſubordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in ſervitude itſelf, the ſpirit of an exalted freedom. The un-

bought grace of life, the cheap defence of nations, the nurſe of manly ſentiment and heroic enterprize is gone! It is gone, that ſenſibility of principle, that chaſtity of honour, which felt a ſtain like a wound, which inſpired courage whilſt it mitigated ferocity, which ennobled whatever it touched, and under which vice itſelf loſt half its evil, by loſing all its groſsneſs.——*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

ARTOIS (COMTE DE)

THE Comte d'Artois ſuſtains ſtill better the repreſentation of his place than Monſieur. He is eloquent, lively, engaging in the higheſt degree, of a decided character, full of energy and activity. In a word, he is a brave, honourable, and accompliſhed cavalier. Their brethren of royalty, if they were true to their own cauſe and intereſt, inſtead of relegating theſe illuſtrious perſons to an obſcure town, would bring them forward in their courts and camps, and exhibit them to, what they would ſpeedily obtain, the eſteem, reſpect, and affection of mankind. —*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1793.

BENFIELD (PAUL, ESQ;)

OUR wonderful miniſter, as you all know, formed a new plan, a plan *inſigne recens alio inditum ore*, a plan for ſupporting the freedom of our conſtitution by court intrigues, and for removing its corruptions by Indian delinquency. To carry that bold paradoxical deſign into execution, ſufficient funds and apt inſtruments became neceſſary. You are perfectly ſenſible that a parliamentary reform occupies his thoughts day and night, as an eſſential member in this extraordinary project. In his anxious reſearches upon this ſubject, natural inſtinct, as well as ſound policy, would direct his eyes, and ſettle his choice on Paul Benfield. Paul Benfield is the grand par-

liamentary reformer, the reformer to whom the whole choir of reformers bow, and to whom even the right honourable gentleman himſelf muſt yield the palm; For what region in the empire, what city, what borough, what county, what tribunal, in this kingdom, is not full of his labours. Others have been only ſpeculators; he is the grand practical reformer; and whilſt the chancellor of the exchequer pledges in vain the man and the miniſter, to increaſe the provincial members, Mr. Benfield has auſpiciouſly and practically begun it. Leaving far behind him even Lord Camelford's generous deſign of beſtowing Old Sarum on the Bank of England, Mr. Benfield has thrown in the borough of Cricklade to reinforce the county repreſentation. Not content with this, in order to ſtation a ſteady phalanx for all future reforms, this public-ſpirited uſurer, amidſt his charitable toils for the relief of India, did not forget the poor rotten conſtitution of his native country. For her, he did not diſdain to ſtoop to the trade of a wholeſale upholſterer for this houſe, to furniſh it, not with the faded tapeſtry figures of antiquated merit, ſuch as decorate, and may reproach ſome other houſes, but with real, ſolid, living patterns of true modern virtue. Paul Benfield made (reckoning himſelf) no fewer than eight members in the laſt parliament. What copious ſtreams of pure blood muſt he not have tranſfuſed into the veins of the preſent!

But what is even more ſtriking than the real ſervices of this new imported patriot, is his modeſty. As ſoon as he had conferred this benefit on the conſtitution, he withdrew himſelf from our applauſe. He conceived that the duties of a member of parliament (which with the elect faithful, the true believers, the *Iſlam* of parliamentary reform, are of little or no merit, perhaps not much better than ſpecious ſins) might be as well attended to in India as in England, and the means of reformation to parliament itſelf, be

far better provided. Mr. Benfield was therefore no ſooner elected than he ſet off for Madras, and defrauded the longing eyes of parliament. We have never enjoyed in this houſe the luxury of beholding that minion of the human race, and contemplating that viſage, which has ſo long reflected the happineſs of nations.

It was therefore not poſſible for the miniſter to conſult perſonally with this great man. What then was he do? Through a ſagacity that never failed him in theſe purſuits, he found out in Mr. Benfield's repreſentative, his exact reſemblance. A ſpecific attraction by which he gravitates towards all ſuch characters, ſoon brought our miniſter into a cloſe connexion with Mr. Benfield's agent and attorney; that is, with the grand contractor (whom I name to honour) Mr. Richard Atkinſon; a name that will be well remembered as long as the records of this houſe, as long as the records of the Britiſh treaſury, as long as the monumental debt of England ſhall endure.

This gentleman, Sir, acts as attorney for Mr. Paul Benfield. Every one who hears me, is well acquainted with the ſacred friendſhip, and the ſteady mutual attachment that ſubſiſts between him and the preſent miniſter. As many members as choſe to attend in the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, can beſt tell their own feelings at the ſcenes which were then acted. How much that honourable gentleman was conſulted in the original frame and fabric of the bill, commonly called Mr. Pitt's India bill, is matter only of conjecture; though by no means difficult to divine. But the public was an indignant witneſs of the oſtentation with which that meaſure was made his own, and the authority with which he brought up clauſe after clauſe, to ſtuff and fatten the rankneſs of that corrupt act. As faſt as the clauſes were brought up to the table, they were accepted. No heſitation; no diſcuſſion. They were received by the new miniſter, not with approbation, but with

implicit ſubmiſſion. The reformation may be eſtimated, by ſeeing who was the reformer. Paul Benfield's aſſociate and agent was held up to the world as legiſlator of Indoſtan. But it was neceſſary to authenticate the coalition between the men of intrigue in India, and the miniſter of intrigue in England, by a ſtudied diſplay of the power of this their connecting link. Every truſt, every honour, every diſtinction, was to be heaped upon him. He was at once made a director of the India company; made an alderman of London; and to be made, if miniſtry could prevail (and I am ſorry to ſay how near, how very near they were prevailing) repreſentative of the capital of this kingdom. But to ſecure his ſervices againſt all riſque, he was brought in for a miniſterial borough. On his part, he was not wanting in zeal for the common cauſe. His advertiſements ſhew his motives, and the merits upon which he ſtood. For your miniſter, this worn-out veteran ſubmitted to enter into the duſty field of the London conteſt; and you all remember, that in the ſame virtuous cauſe, he ſubmitted to keep a ſort of public office or counting-houſe, where the whole buſineſs of the laſt general election was managed. It was openly managed by the direct agent and attorney of Benfield. It was managed upon Indian principles, and for an Indian intereſt. This was the golden cup of abominations; this the chalice of the fornifications of rapine, uſury, and oppreſſion, which was held out by the gorgeous eaſtern harlot; which ſo many of the people, ſo many of the nobles of this land, had drained to the very dregs. Do you think that no reckoning was to follow this lewd debauch? that no payment was to be demanded for this riot of public drunkenneſs and national proſtitution? Here! you have it here before you. The principal of the grand election manager muſt be indemnified; accordingly the claims of Benfield and his crew muſt be put above all enquiry.

For ſeveral years, Benfield appeared as the chief proprietor, as well as the chief agent, director, and controller, of this ſyſtem of debt. The worthy chairman of the company has ſtated the claims of this ſingle gentleman on the nabob of Arcot, as amounting to five hundred thouſand pounds*. Poſſibly at the time of the chairman's ſtate, they might have been as high. Eight hundred thouſand had been mentioned ſome time before†; and according to the practice of ſhifting the names of creditors in theſe tranſactions, and reducing or raiſing the debt itſelf at pleaſure, I think it not impoſſible, that at one period, the name of Benfield might have ſtood before thoſe frightful figures. But my beſt information goes to fix his ſhare no higher than four hundred thouſand pounds. By the ſcheme of the preſent miniſtry for adding to the principal twelve *per cent.* from the year 1777 to the year 1781, four hundred thouſand pounds, that ſmalleſt of the ſums ever mentioned for Mr. Benfield, will form a capital of £592,000, at ſix *per cent.* Thus, beſides the arrears of three years, amounting to £106,500 (which, as faſt as received, may be legally lent out at 12 *per cent.*) Benfield has received, by the miniſterial grant before you, an annuity of £35,520 a year, charged on the public revenues.

Our mirror of miniſters of finance, did not think this enough for the ſervices of ſuch a friend as Benfield. He found that Lord Macartney, in order to frighten the court of directors from the project, of obliging the nabob to give ſoucar ſecurity for his debt, aſſuring them, that if they ſhould take that ſtep, Benfield‡ would infallibly be the ſoucar; and would thereby become the entire maſter of the Carnatic. What Lord Macartney thought ſufficient to deter the very agents and partakers with Benfield

* Mr. Smith's Proteſt. † Madras correſpondence on this ſubject.
‡ Appendix, No. 5, A.

in his iniquities, was the inducement to the two right honourable gentlemen to order this very ſoucar ſecurity to be given, and to recall Benfield to the city of Madras, from the fort of decent exile, into which he had been relegated by Lord Macartney. You muſt therefore conſider Benfield, as ſoucar ſecurity for £ 480,000 a year, which at twenty-four *per cent.* (ſuppoſing him contented with that profit) will, with the intereſt of his old debt, produce an annual income of £ 149,520 a year.

Here is a ſpecimen of the new and pure ariſtocracy created by the right honourable gentleman*, as the ſupport of the crown and conſtitution, againſt the old, corrupt, refractory, natural intereſts of this kingdom; and this is the grand counterpoiſe againſt all odious coalitions of theſe intereſts. A ſingle Benfield outweighs them all; a criminal, who long ſince ought to have fattened the region kites with his offal, is, by his majeſty's miniſters, enthroned in the government of a great kingdom, and enfeoffed with an eſtate, which in the compariſon effaces the ſplendor of all the nobility of Europe.——*Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts.*

BURKE, (RICHARD) ESQ.

HAD it pleaſed God to continue to me the hopes of ſucceſſion, I ſhould have been, according to my mediocrity, and the mediocrity of the age I live in, a ſort of founder of a family; I ſhould have left a ſon, who, in all the points in which perſonal merit can be viewed, in ſcience, in erudition, in genius, in taſte, in honour, in generoſity, in humanity, in every liberal ſentiment, and every liberal accompliſhment, would not have ſhewn himſelf inferior to the Duke of Bedford, or to any of thoſe whom he traces in his line. His Grace very ſoon would have

* Right Honourable William Pitt.

wanted all plauſibility in his attack upon that proviſion which belonged more to mine than to me. He would ſoon have ſupplied every deficiency, and ſymmetrized every diſproportion. It would not have been for that ſucceſſor to reſort to any ſtagnant waſting reſervoir of merit in me, or in any anceſtry. He had in himſelf a ſalient, living ſpring, of generous and manly action. Every day he lived he would have re-purchaſed the bounty of the crown, and ten times more, if ten times more he had received. He was made a public creature; and had no enjoyment whatever, but in the performance of ſome duty. At this exigent moment, the loſs of a finiſhed man is not eaſily ſupplied.

But a diſpoſer, whoſe power we are little able to reſiſt, and whoſe wiſdom it behoves us not at all to diſpute, has ordained it in another manner, and (whatever my querulous weakneſs might ſuggeſt) a far better. The ſtorm has gone over me; and I lie like one of thoſe old oaks which the late hurricane has ſcattered about me. I am ſtripped of all my honours; I am torn up by the roots, and lie proſtrate on the earth! There, and proſtrate there, I moſt unfeignedly recognize the divine juſtice, and in ſome degree ſubmit to it.——*Letter to a noble Lord.*

BRISSOT.

THIS Briſſot had been in the loweſt and baſeſt employ under the depoſed monarchy—a ſort of thieftaker or ſpy of police, in which character he acted after the manner of perſons in that deſcription. He had been employed by his maſter, the Lieutenant de Police, for a conſiderable time in London, in the ſame or ſome ſuch honourable occupation. The revolution, which has brought forward all merit of that kind, raiſed him, with others of a ſimilar claſs and diſpoſition, to fame and eminence. On the revolution, he became a publiſher of an infamous newſpaper, which he ſtill continues. He is charged,

and I believe juſtly, as the firſt mover of the troubles in Hiſpaniola. There is no wickedneſs, if I am rightly informed, in which he is not verſed, and of which he is not perfectly capable. His quality of news-writer, now an employment of the firſt dignity in France, and his practices and principles, procured his election into the aſſembly, where he is one of the leading members.—*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1793.

CONDORCET.

CONDORCET (though no marquis, as he ſtyled himſelf before the revolution) is a man of another ſort of birth, faſhion, and occupation from Briſſot; but in every principle, and in every diſpoſition to the loweſt as well as the higheſt and moſt determined villainies, fully his equal. He ſeconds Briſſot in the Aſſembly, and is at once his coadjutor and his rival in a newſpaper, which in his own name, and as ſucceſſor to Mr. Garat, a member alſo of the aſſembly, he has juſt ſet up in that Empire of Gazettes. Condorcet was choſen to draw the firſt declaration preſented by the Aſſembly to the King, as a threat to the Elector of Treves, and the other princes on the Rhine. In that piece, in which both Feuillans and Jacobins concurred, they declared publicly, and moſt proudly and inſolently, the principle on which they mean to proceed in their future diſputes with any of the Sovereigns in Europe, for they ſay, "That it is not with fire and ſword they mean to "attack their territories, but by what will be *more* "*dreadful* to them, the introduction of liberty."

The late Aſſembly, after the laſt captivity of the King, had actually choſen this Condorcet by a majority on the ballot, for Preceptor to the Dauphin, who was to be taken out of the hands and direction of his parents, and to be delivered over to this fanatic Atheiſt, and furious democratic Republican. His

untractability to these leaders, and his figure in the Club of Jacobins, which at that time they wished to bring under, alone prevented that part of the arrangement, and others in the same style, from being carried into execution. Whilst he was candidate for this office, he produced his title to it by promulgating the following ideas of the title of his royal pupil to the crown. In a paper written by him, and published with his name, against the re-establishment, even of the appearance of monarchy under any qualifications, He says, " Jusqu'à ce moment " ils [l'Assemblée Nationale] n'ont rien prejugé encore. En se reservant de nommer un Gouverneur au Dauphin, ils n'ont pas prononcé *que cet enfant dût regner;* mais seulement quil *étoit possible* que la Constitution lui destinât; ils ont voulu que l'éducation, effaçant tout ce que *les prestiges du Trône* ont pu lui inspirer de préjugés sur les droits prétendus de sa naissance, qu'elle lui fit connoître de bonne heure, et *l'Egalité naturelle des Hommes, et la Souveraineté du peuple;* qu'elle lui apprit à ne pas oublier que c'est *du peuple* qu'il tiendra le tître de Roi, et que *le peuple n'a pas même le droit de renoncer à celui de l'en depouiller.*

" Ils ont voulu que cette éducation le rendit également digne, par ses lumières, et ses vertus, de recevoir *avec resignation*, le fardeaux dangereux d'une couronne, ou de la *déposer avec joie* entre les mains de ces frères, qu'il sentit que le devoir et la gloire du Roi d'un peuple libre, est de hâter le moment de n'être plus qu'un citoyen ordinaire.

" Ils ont voulu que *l'inutilité d'un Roi*, la nécessité de chercher les moyens de remplacer *un pouvoir fondé sur les illusions*, fut une des premières vérités offertes à sa raison ; *l'obligation d'y concourir lui même un des premières devoirs de sa morale ; et le desir, de n'être plus affranchi du joug de la loi, par une injurieuse inviolabilité, le premier sentiment de*

" *ſon cœur.* Ils n'ignorent pas que dans ce moment " il s'agit bien moins de former un Roi que de lui " apprendre *á ſavoir, á vouloir ne plus l'être* *."

Such are the ſentiments of the man who has occaſionally filled the chair of the National Aſſembly, who is their perpetual ſecretary, their only ſtanding officer, and the moſt important by far. He leads them to peace or war. He is the great theme of the Republican faction in England. Theſe ideas of M. Condorcet are the principles of thoſe to whom Kings are to entruſt their ſucceſſors, and the intereſts of their ſucceſſion. This man would be ready to plunge the poignard in the heart of his pupil, or to whet the axe for his neck. Of all men, the moſt dangerous is a warm, hot-headed, zealous Atheiſt. This ſort of man aims at dominion, and his means are, the words he always has in his mouth, " L'égalité naturelle des " Hommes, et la Souverainté du Peuple."—*Ibid.*

* Until now, they (the National Aſſembly) have prejudged nothing. Reſerving to themſelves a right to appoint a Preceptor to the Dauphin, they did not declare that *this child was* to reign; but only that *poſſibly* the Conſtitution *might* deſtine him to it: they willed, that while education ſhould efface from his mind all the prejudices ariſing from *the deluſions of the throne* reſpecting his pretended birthright, it ſhould teach him not to forget, that it is *from the people* he is to receive the title of King, and that *the people do not even poſſeſs the right of giving up their power to take it from him.*

They willed that this education ſhould render him worthy by his knowledge and by his virtues, both to receive *with ſubmiſſion* the dangerous burden of a crown, and to *reſign* it *with pleaſure* into the hands of his brethren; that he ſhould be conſcious that the haſtening of that moment when he is to be only a common citizen, conſtitutes the duty and the glory of a King of a free people.

They willed that the *uſeleſsneſs of a King*, the neceſſity of ſeeking means to eſtabliſh ſomething in lieu of *a power founded on illuſions*, ſhould be one of the firſt truths offered to his reaſon; *the obligation of conforming himſelf to this, the firſt of his moral duties; and the deſire of no longer being freed from the yoke of the law, by an injurious inviolability, the firſt and chief ſentiment of his heart.* They are not ignorant that in the preſent moment the object is leſs to form a King than to teach him *that he ſhould know how to wiſh no longer to be ſuch.*

CONTI (PRINCE DE)

LOOKING over all the names I have heard of in this great revolution, in all human affairs, I find no man of any diſtinction who has remained in that more than ſtoical apathy, but the Prince de Conti. This mean, ſtupid, ſelfiſh, ſwiniſh, and cowardly animal, univerſally known and deſpiſed as ſuch, has, indeed, except in one abortive attempt to elope, been perfectly neutral. However his neutrality, which it ſeems would qualify him for truſt, and, on a competition, muſt ſet aſide the Prince de Condé, can be of no ſort of ſervice. His moderation has not been able to keep him from a jail. The allied powers muſt draw him from that jail, before they can have the full advantage of the exertions of this great neutraliſt.——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1793.

CHATHAM (EARL OF.)

LORD CHATHAM—a great and celebrated name; a name that keeps the name of this country reſpectable in every other on the globe. It may be truly called,

Clarum et venerabile nomen
Gentibus, et multum noſtræ quod proderat urbi.

Sir, the venerable age of this great man, his merited rank, his ſuperior eloquence, his ſplendid qualities, his eminent ſervices, the vaſt ſpace he fills in the eye of mankind; and, more than all the reſt, his fall from power, which, like death, canonizes and ſanctifies a great character, will not ſuffer me to cenſure any part of his conduct. I am afraid to flatter him; I am ſure I am not diſpoſed to blame him. Let thoſe who have betrayed him by their adulation, inſult him with their malevolence. But what I do not preſume to cenſure, I may have leave to lament. For a wiſe man, he ſeemed to me at that time, to be governed too much by general maxims. I ſpeak

with the freedom of hiſtory, and I hope without offence. One or two of theſe maxims, flowing from an opinion not the moſt indulgent to our unhappy ſpecies, and ſurely a little too general, led him into meaſures that were greatly miſchievous to himſelf; and for that reaſon, among others, perhaps fatal to his country; meaſures, the effects of which, I am afraid, are for ever incurable. He made an adminiſtration, ſo checkered and ſpeckled; he put together a piece of joinery, ſo croſsly indented and whimſically dovetailed; a cabinet ſo variouſly inlaid; ſuch a piece of diverſified Moſaic: ſuch a teſſelated pavement without cement; here a bit of black ſtone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, king's friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies: that it was, indeed, a very curious ſhow; but utterly unſafe to touch, and unſure to ſtand on. The colleagues whom he had aſſorted at the ſame boards, ſtared at each other, and were obliged to aſk, "Sir, your "name?—Sir, you have the advantage of me—Mr. "Such a one—I beg a thouſand pardons—" I venture to ſay, it did ſo happen, that perſons had a ſingle office divided between them, who had never ſpoke to each other in their lives; until they found themſelves, they knew not how, pigging together, heads and points, in the ſame truckle-bed*.

Sir, in conſequence of this arrangement, having put ſo much the larger part of his enemies and oppoſers into power, the confuſion was ſuch, that his own principles could not poſſibly have any effect or influence in the conduct of affairs. If ever he fell into a fit of the gout, or if any other cauſe withdrew him from public cares, principles directly the contrary were ſure to predominate. When he had exe-

* Suppoſed to allude to the Right Hon. Lord North, and George Cooke, Eſq; who were made joint paymaſters in the ſummer of 1766, on the removal of the Rockingham adminiſtration.

cuted his plan, he had not an inch of ground to ſtand upon. When he had accompliſhed his ſcheme of adminiſtration, he was no longer a miniſter.

When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole ſyſtem was on a wide ſea, without chart or compaſs. The gentlemen, his particular friends, who, with the names of various departments of miniſtry, were admitted, to ſeem, as if they acted a part under him, with a modeſty that becomes all men, and with a confidence in him, which was juſtified even in its extravagance by his ſuperior abilities, had never, in any inſtance, preſumed upon any opinion of their own. Deprived of his guiding influence, they were whirled about, the ſport of every guſt, and eaſily driven into any port; and as thoſe who joined with them in manning the veſſel were the moſt directly oppoſite to his opinions, meaſures, and character, and far the moſt artful and moſt powerful of the ſet, they eaſily prevailed, ſo as to ſeize upon the vacant, unoccupied, and derelict minds of his friends; and inſtantly they turned the veſſel wholly out of the courſe of his policy. As if it were to inſult as well as to betray him, even long before the cloſe of the firſt ſeſſion of his adminiſtration, when every thing was publicly tranſacted, and with great parade, in his name, they made an act, declaring it highly juſt and expedient to raiſe a revenue in America. For even then, Sir, even before this ſplendid orb was entirely ſet, and while the weſtern horizon was in a blaze with his deſcending glory, on the oppoſite quarter of the heavens aroſe another luminary, and, for his hour, became lord of the aſcendant.——*Speech on American Taxation.*

CHARLES II.

THE perſon given to us by Monk (Charles II.) was a man without any ſenſe of his duty as a prince; without any regard to the dignity of his crown; and without any love to his people; diſſolute, falſe, venal,

and deſtitute of any poſitive good quality whatſoever, except a pleaſant temper, and the manners of a gentleman.——*Letter to a Member of the National Aſſembly.*

CROMWELL, (OLIVER.)

CROMWELL, when he attempted to legalize his power, and to ſettle his conquered country in a ſtate of order, did not look for diſpenſers of juſtice in the inſtruments of his uſurpation. Quite the contrary. He ſought out with great ſolicitude and ſelection, and even from the party moſt oppoſite to his deſigns, men of weight, and decorum of character; men unſtained with the violence of the times, and with hands not fouled with confiſcation and ſacrilege: for he choſe an *Hales* for his chief juſtice, though he abſolutely refuſed to take his civic oaths, or to make any acknowledgment whatſoever of the legality of his government. Cromwell told this great lawyer, that ſince he did not approve his title, all he required of him was, to adminiſter, in a manner agreeable to his pure ſentiments and unſpotted character, that juſtice without which human ſociety cannot ſubſiſt: that it was not his particular government, but civil order itſelf, which as a judge he wiſhed him to ſupport. Cromwell knew how to ſeparate the inſtitutions expedient to his uſurpation from the adminiſtration of the public juſtice of his country. For Cromwell was a man in whom ambition had not wholly ſuppreſſed, but only ſuſpended the ſentiments of religion, and the love (as far as it could conſiſt with his deſigns) of fair and honourable reputation.——*Ibid.*

CONWAY (GENERAL.)

I REMEMBER with a melancholy pleaſure, the ſituation of the Honourable Gentleman (General Conway) who made the motion for the repeal (of

the American Stamp Act) in that criſis, when the whole trading intereſt of this empire, crammed into your lobbies, with a trembling and anxious expectation, waited, almoſt to a winter's return of light, their fate from your reſolutions. When, at length, you had determined in their favour, and your doors, thrown open, ſhewed them the figure of their deliverer in the well-earned triumph of his important victory, from the whole of that grave multitude there aroſe an involuntary burſt of gratitude and tranſport. They jumped upon him like children on a long abſent father. They clung about him as captives about their redeemer. All England, all America, joined to his applauſe. Nor did he ſeem inſenſible to the beſt of all earthly rewards, the love and admiration of his fellow citizens. *Hope elevated, and joy brightened his creſt.* I ſtood near him; and his face, to uſe the expreſſion of the ſcripture of the firſt martyr, "his face was as if it had been the face of an "angel." I do not know how others feel; but if I had ſtood in that ſituation, I never would have exchanged it for all that kings, in their profuſion, could beſtow. I did hope, that that day's danger and honour would have been a bond to hold us all together for ever. But, alas! that, with other pleaſing viſions, is long ſince vaniſhed.—*Speech on American Taxation.*

DUNDAS (RIGHT HON. HENRY.)

He and delicacy are a rare and ſingular coalition, —*Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts.*

DUNNING, MR.

The bill (for the relief of the Roman Catholics) was ſeconded by Mr. Dunning, Recorder of this city (Briſtol); I ſhall ſay the leſs of him, becauſe his relation to you makes you more particularly ac-

quainted with his merits. But I ſhould appear little acquainted with them, or little ſenſible of them, if I could utter his name on this occaſion, without expreſſing my eſteem for his character. I am not afraid of offending a moſt learned body, and moſt jealous of its reputation for that learning, when I ſay he is the firſt of his profeſſion. It is a point ſettled by thoſe who ſettle every thing elſe; and I muſt add (what I am enabled to ſay from my own long and cloſe obſervation) that there is not a man, of any profeſſion, or in any ſituation, of a more erect and independent ſpirit, of a more proud honour, a more manly mind, a more firm and determined integrity.——*Speech at Briſtol previous to the Election.*

FOX, (MR.)

And now, having done my duty to the bill, let me ſay a word to the author. I ſhould leave him to his own noble ſentiments, if the unworthy and illiberal language with which he has been treated, beyond all example of parliamentary liberty, did not make a few words neceſſary; not ſo much in juſtice to him, as to my own feelings. I muſt ſay then, that it will be a diſtinction honourable to the age, that the reſcue of the greateſt number of the human race that ever were ſo grievouſly oppreſſed, from the greateſt tyranny that was ever exerciſed, has fallen to the lot of abilities and diſpoſitions equal to the taſk; that it has fallen to one who has the enlargement to comprehend, the ſpirit to undertake, and the eloquence to ſupport, ſo great a meaſure of hazardous benevolence. His ſpirit is not owing to his ignorance of the ſtate of men and things; he well knows what ſnares are ſpread about his path, from perſonal animoſity, from court intrigues, and poſſibly from popular deluſion. But he has put to hazard his eaſe, his ſecurity, his intereſt, his power, even his darling popularity, for the benefit of a people whom he has

never ſeen. This is the road that all heroes have trod before him. He is traduced and abuſed for his ſuppoſed motives. He will remember, that obloquy is a neceſſary ingredient in the compoſition of all true glory: he will remember, that it was not only in the Roman cuſtoms, but it is in the nature and conſtitution of things, that calumny and abuſe are eſſential parts of triumph. Theſe thoughts will ſupport a mind, which only exiſts for honour, under the burthen of temporary reproach. He is doing indeed a great good; ſuch as rarely falls to the lot, and almoſt as rarely coincides with the deſires of any man. Let him uſe his time. Let him give the whole length of the reins to his benevolence. He is now on a great eminence, where the eyes of mankind are turned to him. He may live long, he may do much. But here is the ſummit. He never can exceed what he does this day.

He has faults; but they are faults that, though they may in a ſmall degree tarniſh the luſtre, and ſometimes impede the march of his abilities, have nothing in them to extinguiſh the fire of great virtues. In thoſe faults, there is no mixture of deceit, of hypocriſy, of pride, of ferocity, of complexional deſpotiſm, or want of feeling for the diſtreſſes of mankind. His are faults which might exiſt in a deſcendant of Henry the Fourth of France, as they did exiſt in that father of his country. Henry the Fourth wiſhed that he might live to ſee a fowl in the pot of every peaſant of his kingdom. That ſentiment of homely benevolence was worth all the ſplendid ſayings that are recorded of kings. But he wiſhed perhaps for more than could be obtained, and the goodneſs of the man exceeded the power of the king. But this gentleman, a ſubject, may this day ſay this at leaſt, with truth, that he ſecures the rice in his pot to every man in India. A poet of antiquity thought it one of the firſt diſtinctions to a prince whom he meant to celebrate, that through a long ſucceſſion of

generations, he had been the progenitor of an able and virtuous citizen, who by force of the arts of peace, had corrected governments of oppreſſion, and ſuppreſſed wars of rapine.

Indole proh quanta juvenis, quantumque daturus
Auſoniæ populis, ventura in ſæcula civem.
Ille ſuper Gangem, ſuper exauditus et Indos,
Implebit terras voce; et furialia bella
Fulmine compeſcet linguæ.——

This was what was ſaid of the predeceſſor of the only perſon to whoſe eloquence it does not wrong that of the mover of this bill to be compared. But the Ganges and the Indus are the patrimony of the fame of my honourable friend, and not of Cicero. I confeſs, I anticipate with joy the reward of thoſe, whoſe whole conſequence, power, and authority, exiſt only for the benefit of mankind; and I carry my mind to all the people, and all the names and deſcriptions, that, relieved by this bill, will bleſs the labours of this parliament, and the confidence which the beſt houſe of commons has given to him who the beſt deſerves it. The little cavils of party will not be heard, where freedom and happineſs will be felt. There is not a tongue, a nation, or religion in India, which will not bleſs the preſiding care and manly beneficence of this houſe, and of him who propoſes to you this great work. Your names will never be ſeparated before the throne of the Divine Goodneſs, in whatever language, or with whatever rites, pardon is aſked for ſin, and reward for thoſe who imitate the Godhead in his univerſal bounty to his creatures. Theſe honours you deſerve, and they will ſurely be paid, when all the jargon, of influence, and party, and patronage, are ſwept into oblivion.——*Speech on Mr. Fox's Eaſt India Bill.*

FOX, MR.

He (Mr. Burke) was ſorry that his right honourable friend (Mr. Fox) had dropped even a word expreſ-

ſive of exultation on that circumſtance; (the aſſumption of citizenſhip by the French army, &c.) or that he ſeemed of opinion that the objection from ſtanding armies was at all leſſened by it. He attributed this opinion of Mr. Fox entirely to his known zeal for the beſt of all cauſes, Liberty. That it was with a pain inexpreſſible he was obliged to have even the ſhadow of a difference with his friend, whoſe authority would be always great with him, and with all thinking people—*Quæ maxima ſemper cenſetur nobis, et* erit *quæ maxima ſemper*—His confidence in Mr. Fox was ſuch, and ſo ample, as to be almoſt implicit. That he was not aſhamed to avow that degree of docility. That when the choice is well made, it ſtrengthens inſtead of oppreſſing our intellect. That he who calls in the aid of an equal underſtanding, doubles his own. He who profits of a ſuperior underſtanding, raiſes his powers to a level with the height of the ſuperior underſtanding he unites with. He had found the benefit of ſuch a junction, and would not lightly depart from it. He wiſhed almoſt, on all occaſions, that his ſentiments were underſtood to be conveyed in Mr. Fox's words; and that he wiſhed, as amongſt the greateſt benefits he could wiſh the country, an eminent ſhare of power to that right honourable gentleman; becauſe he knew that, to his great and maſterly underſtanding, he had joined the greateſt poſſible degree of that natural moderation, which is the beſt corrective of power; that he was of the moſt artleſs, candid, open, and benevolent diſpoſition; diſintereſted in the extreme; of a temper mild and placable, even to a fault; without one drop of gall in his whole conſtitution.

Mr. Fox then roſe, and declared, in ſubſtance, that ſo far as regarded the French army, he went no farther than the general principle, by which that army ſhewed itſelf indiſpoſed to be an inſtrument in the ſervitude of their fellow citizens, but did not enter into the particulars of their conduct. He declared,

that he did not affect a democracy. That he always thought any of the ſimple, unbalanced governments bad; ſimple monarchy, ſimple ariſtocracy, ſimple democracy; he held them all imperfect or vicious: all were bad by themſelves: the compoſition alone was good. That theſe had been always his principles, in which he had agreed with his friend Mr. Burke, of whom he ſaid many kind and flattering things, which Mr. Burke, I take it for granted, will know himſelf too well, to think he merits, from any thing but Mr. Fox's acknowledged good-nature. Mr. Fox thought, however, that, in many caſes, Mr. Burke was rather carried too far by his hatred to innovation. ——*Speech on the Army Eſtimates in* 1790.

GRENVILLE, MR.

UNDOUBTEDLY Mr. Grenville was a firſt-rate figure in this country. With a maſculine underſtanding, and a ſtout and reſolute heart, he had an application undiſſipated and unwearied. He took public buſineſs, not as a duty which he was to fulfil, but as a pleaſure he was to enjoy; and he ſeemed to have no delight out of this houſe, except in ſuch things as ſome way related to the buſineſs that was to be done within it. If he was ambitious, I will ſay this for him, his ambition was of a noble and generous ſtrain. It was to raiſe himſelf, not by the low pimping politics of a court, but to win his way to power, through the laborious gradations of public ſervice; and to ſecure to himſelf a well earned rank in parliament, by a thorough knowledge of its conſtitution, and a perfect practice in all its buſineſs.

Sir, if ſuch a man fell into errors, it muſt be from defects not intrinſical; they muſt be rather ſought in the particular habits of his life; which, though they do not alter the ground-work of character, yet tinge it with their own hue. He was bred in a profeſſion. He was bred to the law, which

is, in my opinion, one of the firſt and nobleſt of human ſciences; a ſcience which does more to quicken and invigorate the underſtanding, than all the other kinds of learning put together; but it is not apt, except in perſons very happily born, to open and to liberalize the mind exactly in the ſame proportion. Paſſing from that ſtudy he did not go very largely into the world; but plunged into buſineſs; I mean into the buſineſs of office; and the limited and fixed methods and forms eſtabliſhed there. Much knowledge is to be had undoubtedly in that line; and there is no knowledge which is not valuable. But it may be truly ſaid, that men too much converſant in office, are rarely minds of remarkable enlargement. Their habits of office are apt to give them a turn to think the ſubſtance of buſineſs not to be much more important than the forms in which it is conducted. Theſe forms are adapted to ordinary occaſions; and therefore perſons who are nurtured in office do admirably well, as long as things go on in their common order; but when the high roads are broken up, and the waters out, when a new and troubled ſcene is opened, and the file affords no precedent, then it is that a greater knowledge of mankind, and a far more extenſive comprehenſion of things is requiſite than ever office gave, or than office can ever give. Mr. Grenville thought better of the wiſdom and power of human legiſlation than in truth it deſerves. He conceived, and many conceived along with him, that the flouriſhing trade of this country was greatly owing to law and inſtitution, and not quite ſo much to liberty; for but too many are apt to believe regulation to be commerce, and taxes to be revenue. Among regulations, that which ſtood firſt in reputation was his idol. I mean the act of navigation. He has often profeſſed it to be ſo. The policy of that act is, I readily admit, in many reſpects well underſtood. But I do ſay, that if the act be ſuffered to run the full length of its principle, and

be not changed and modified according to the change of times and the fluctuation of circumſtances, it muſt do great miſchief, and frequently even defeat its own purpoſe.——*Speech on American Taxation.*

GRENVILLE (LORD.)

An able, vigorous, and well-informed ſtateſman.——*Letter to a Noble Lord.*

GEORGE III.

His majeſty came to the throne of theſe kingdoms with more advantages than any of his predeceſſors ſince the revolution. Fourth in deſcent, and third in ſucceſſion of his royal family, even the zealots of hereditary right, in him, ſaw ſomething to flatter their favorite prejudices; and to juſtify a tranſfer of their attachments, without a change in their principles. The perſon and cauſe of the Pretender were become contemptible; his title diſowned throughout Europe, his party diſbanded in England. His majeſty came indeed to the inheritance of a mighty war; but, victorious in every part of the globe, peace was always in his power, not to negociate, but to dictate. No foreign habitudes or attachments withdrew him from the cultivation of his power at home. His revenue for the civil eſtabliſhment, fixed (as it was then thought) at a large, but definite ſum, was ample, without being invidious. His influence, by additions from conqueſt, by an augmentation of debt, by an increaſe of military and naval eſtabliſhment, much ſtrengthened and extended. And coming to the throne in the prime and full vigour of youth, as from affection there was a ſtrong diſlike, ſo from dread there ſeemed to be a general averſeneſs, from giving any thing like offence to a monarch, againſt whoſe reſentment oppoſition could not look for a refuge in any ſort of reverſionary hope.

The moſt ardent lover of his country cannot wiſh for Great Britain an happier fate than to continue as ſhe was then left. A people emulous as we are in affection to our preſent ſovereign, know not how to form a prayer to Heaven for a greater bleſſing upon his virtues, or an higher ſtate of felicity and glory, than that he ſhould live, and ſhould reign, and, when Providence ordains it, ſhould die, exactly like his illuſtrious predeceſſor.——*Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents.*

HENRY IV. OF FRANCE.

HENRY of Navarre was a reſolute, active, and politic prince. He poſſeſſed, indeed, great humanity and mildneſs; but an humanity and mildneſs that never ſtood in the way of his intereſts. He never ſought to be loved without putting himſelf firſt in a condition to be feared. He uſed ſoft language with determined conduct. He aſſerted and maintained his authority in the groſs, and diſtributed his acts of conceſſion only in the detail. He ſpent the income of his prerogatives nobly; but he took care not to break in upon the capital; never abandoning for a moment any of the claims which he made under the fundamental laws, nor ſparing to ſhed the blood of thoſe who oppoſed him, often in the field, ſometimes on the ſcaffold. Becauſe he knew how to make his virtues reſpected by the ungrateful, he has merited the praiſes of thoſe whom, if they had lived in his time, he would have ſhut up in the Baſtile, and brought to puniſhment along with the regicides whom he hanged after he had famiſhed Paris into a ſurrender.—*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

HERTZBERG (BARON.)

HERTZBERG, the King of Pruſſia's late Miniſter, is ſo much of what is called a philoſopher, that he was

of a faction with that ſort of politicians in every thing, and in every place. Even when he defends himſelf from the imputation of giving extravagantly into theſe principles, he ſtill conſiders the revolution of France as a great public good, by giving credit to their fraudulent declaration of their univerſal benevolence, and love of peace. Nor are his Pruſſian Majeſty's preſent Miniſters at all diſinclined to the ſame ſyſtem. Their oſtentatious preamble to certain late edicts, demonſtrates (if their actions had not been ſufficiently explanatory of their caſt of mind) that they are deeply infected with the ſame diſtemper of dangerous, becauſe plauſible, though trivial, and ſhallow ſpeculation.——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

HOWARD, (MR.)

I CANNOT name this gentleman without remarking, that his labours and writings have done much to open the eyes and hearts of mankind. He has viſited all Europe,—not to ſurvey the ſumptuouſneſs of palaces, or the ſtatelineſs of temples; not to make accurate meaſurements of the remains of antient grandeur, nor to form a ſcale of the curioſity of modern art; nor to collect medals, or collate manuſcripts:—but to dive into the depth of dungeons; to plunge into the infection of hoſpitals; to ſurvey the manſions of ſorrow and pain; to take the gage and dimenſions of miſery, depreſſion, and contempt; to remember the forgotten, to attend to the neglected, to viſit the forſaken, and to compare and collate the diſtreſſes of all men in all countries. His plan is original; and it is as full of genius as it is of humanity. It was a voyage of diſcovery; a circumnavigation of charity. Already the benefit of his labour is felt more or leſs in every country: I hope he will anticipate his final reward, by ſeeing all its effects fully realized in his own. He will receive, not by

retail but in groſs, the reward of thoſe who viſit the priſoner; and he has ſo foreſtalled and monopolized this branch of charity, that there will be, I truſt, little room to merit by ſuch acts of benevolence hereafter.—*Speech at Briſtol previous to the Election.*

KEPPEL (LORD.)

I EVER looked on Lord Keppel as one of the greateſt and beſt men of his age; and I loved, and cultivated him accordingly. He was much in my heart, and I believe I was in his to the very laſt beat. It was after his trial at Portſmouth that he gave me this picture. With what zeal and anxious affection I attended him through that his agony of glory; what part my ſon in the early fluſh and enthuſiaſm of his virtue, and the pious paſſion with which he attached himſelf to all my connections, with what prodigality we both ſquandered ourſelves in courting almoſt every ſort of enmity for his ſake, I believe he felt, juſt as I ſhould have felt, ſuch friendſhip on ſuch an occaſion. I partook indeed of this honour, with ſeveral of the firſt, and beſt, and ableſt in the kingdom, but I was behind hand with none of them; and I am ſure, that if to the eternal diſgrace of this nation, and to the total annihilation of every trace of honour and virtue in it, things had taken a different turn from what they did, I ſhould have attended him to the quarter-deck with no leſs good will and more pride, though with far other feelings, than I partook of the general flow of national joy that attended the juſtice that was done to his virtue.

Pardon, my Lord, the feeble garrulity of age, which loves to diffuſe itſelf in diſcourſe of the departed great. At my years we live in retroſpect alone: and, wholly unfitted for the ſociety of vigorous life, we enjoy, the beſt balm to all wounds, the conſolation of friendſhip, in thoſe only whom we have loſt for ever. Feeling the loſs of Lord Kep-

pel at all times, at no time did I feel it ſo much as on the firſt day when I was attacked in the Houſe of Lords.

Had he lived, that reverend form would have riſen in its place, and with a mild, parental reprehenſion to his nephew the Duke of Bedford, he would have told him that the favour of that gracious prince, who had honoured his virtues with the government of the navy of Great Britain, and with a ſeat in the hereditary great council of his kingdom, was not undeſervedly ſhewn to the friend of the beſt portion of his life, and his faithful companion and counſellor under his rudeſt trials. He would have told him, that to whomever elſe theſe reproaches might be becoming, they were not decorous in his near kindred. He would have told them that when men in that rank loſe decorum, they loſe every thing.

On that day I had a loſs in Lord Keppel; but the public loſs of him in this aweful criſis—! I ſpeak from much knowledge of the perſon, he never would have liſtened to any compromiſe with the rabble rout of this Sans Culotterie of France. His goodneſs of heart, his reaſon, his taſte, his public duty, his principles, his prejudices, would have repelled him for ever from all connection with that horrid medley of madneſs, vice, impiety, and crime.

Lord Keppel had two countries; one of deſcent and one of birth. Their intereſts and their glory are the ſame; and his mind was capacious of both. His family was noble, and it was Dutch. That is, he was of the oldeſt and pureſt nobility that Europe can boaſt, among a people renowned above all others for love of their native land. Though it was never ſhewn in inſult to any human being, Lord Kepple was ſomething high. It was a wild ſtock of pride, on which the tendereſt of all hearts had grafted the milder virtues. He valued ancient nobility; and he was not diſinclined to augment it with new honours. He valued the old nobility and the new, not as an

excuſe for inglorious ſloth, but as an incitement to virtuous activity. He conſidered it as a ſort of cure for ſelfiſhneſs and a narrow mind; conceiving that a man born in an elevated place, in himſelf was nothing, but every thing in what went before, and what was to come after him. Without much ſpeculation, but by the ſure inſtinct of ingenuous feelings, and by the dictates of plain unſophiſticated natural underſtanding, he felt, that no great Commonwealth could by any poſſibility long ſubſiſt, without a body of ſome kind or other of nobility, decorated with honour, and fortified by privilege. This nobility forms the chain that connects the ages of a nation, which otherwiſe (with Mr. Paine) would ſoon be taught that no one generation can bind another. He felt that no political fabric could be well made without ſome ſuch order of things as might, through a ſeries of time, afford a rational hope of ſecuring unity, coherence, conſiſtency, and ſtability to the ſtate. He felt that nothing elſe can protect it againſt the levity of courts, and the greater levity of the multitude. That to talk of hereditary monarchy without any thing elſe of hereditary reverence in the Commonwealth, was a low-minded abſurdity; fit only for thoſe deteſtable "fools aſpiring to be knaves," who began to forge in 1789, the falſe money of the French Conſtitution—That it is one fatal objection to all *new* fancied and *new fabricated* Republics (among a people, who, once poſſeſſing ſuch an advantage, have wickedly and inſolently rejected it) that the *prejudice* of an old nobility is a thing that *cannot* be made. It may be improved, it may be corrected, it may be repleniſhed: men may be taken from it, or aggregated to it, but the *thing itſelf* is matter of *inveterate* opinion, and therefore *cannot* be matter of mere poſitive inſtitution. He felt, that this nobility, in fact, does not exiſt in wrong of other orders of the ſtate, but by them, and for them;

I knew the man I ſpeak of; and, if we can divine the future, out of what we collect from the paſt, no perſon living would look with more ſcorn and horror on the impious parricide committed on all their anceſtry, and on the deſperate attainder paſſed on all their poſterity, by the Orleans, and the Rochefoucaults, and the Fayettes, and the Viſcomtes de Noailles, and the falſe Perigords, and the long *et cætera* of the perfidious Sans Culottes of the court, who like demoniacs, poſſeſſed with a ſpirit of fallen pride, and inverted ambition, abdicated their dignities, diſowned their families, betrayed the moſt ſacred of all truſts, and by breaking to pieces a great link of ſociety, and all the cramps and holdings of the ſtate, brought eternal confuſion and deſolation on their country. For the fate of the miſcreant parricides themſelves he would have had no pity. Compaſſion for the myriads of men, of whom the world was not worthy, who by their means have periſhed in priſons, or on ſcaffolds, or are pining in beggary and exile, would leave no room in his, or in any well-formed mind, for any ſuch ſenſation. We are not made at once to pity the oppreſſor and the oppreſſed.

Looking to his Batavian deſcent, how could he bear to behold his kindred, the deſcendants of the brave nobility of Holland, whoſe blood prodigally poured out, had, more than all the canals, meers, and inundations of their country, protected their independence, to behold them bowed in the baſeſt ſervitude, to the baſeſt and vileſt of the human race; in ſervitude to thoſe who, in no reſpect, were ſuperior in dignity, or could aſpire to a better place than that of hangmen to the tyrants, to whoſe ſceptered pride they had oppoſed an elevation of ſoul, that ſurmounted, and overpowered the loftineſs of Caſtile, the haughtineſs of Auſtria, and the overbearing arrogance of France?

Could he with patience bear, that the children of that nobility, who would have deluged their country and given it to the ſea, rather than ſubmit to Louis XIV. who was then in his meridian glory, when his arms were conducted by the Turennes, by the Luxembourgs, by the Boufflers; when his councils were directed by the Colberts, and the Louvois; when his tribunals were filled by the Lamoignons, and the Dagueſſaus—that theſe ſhould be given up to the cruel ſport of the Pichegrus, the Jourdans, the Santerres, under the Rollands, and Briſſots, and Gorſas, and Robeſpierres, the Reubels, the Carnots, and Talliens, and Dantons, and the whole tribe of regicides, robbers, and revolutionary judges, that, from the rotten carcaſe of their own murdered country, have poured out innumerable ſwarms of the loweſt, and at once the moſt deſtructive of the claſſes of animated nature, which like columns of locuſts, have laid waſte the faireſt part of the world?

Would Keppel have borne to ſee the ruin of the virtuous Patricians, that happy union of the noble and the burgher, who with ſignal prudence and integrity, had long governed the cities of the confederate Republic, the cheriſhing fathers of their country, who, denying commerce to themſelves, made it flouriſh in a manner unexampled under their protection? Could Keppel have borne that a vile faction ſhould totally deſtroy this harmonious conſtruction, in favour of a robbing Democracy, founded on the ſpurious rights of man?

He was no great clerk, but he was perfectly well verſed in the intereſts of Europe, and he could not have heard with patience that the country of Grotius, the cradle of the Law of Nations, and one of the richeſt repoſitories of all law, ſhould be taught a new code by the ignorant flippancy of Thomas Paine, the preſumptuous foppery of La Fayette, with his ſtolen rights of man in his hand, the wild profligate intrigue and turbulency of Marat, and the impious ſophiſtry

of Condorcet, in his inſolent addreſſes to the Batavian Republic?

Could Keppel, who idolized the houſe of Naſſau, who was himſelf given to England, along with the bleſſings of the Britiſh and Dutch revolutions; with revolutions of ſtability; with revolutions which conſolidated and married the liberties and the intereſts of the two nations for ever, could he ſee the fountain of Britiſh liberty itſelf in ſervitude to France? Could he ſee with patience a Prince of Orange expelled as a ſort of diminutive deſpot, with every kind of contumely, from the country, which that family of deliverers had ſo often reſcued from ſlavery, and obliged to live in exile in another country, which owes its liberty to his houſe?

Would Keppel have heard with patience, that the conduct to be held on ſuch occaſions was to become ſhort by the knees to the faction of the homicides, to intreat them quietly to retire? or if the fortune of war ſhould drive them from their firſt wicked and unprovoked invaſion, that no ſecurity ſhould be taken, no arrangement made, no barrier formed, no alliance entered into for the ſecurity of that, which under a foreign name, is the moſt precious part of England? What would he have ſaid, if it was even propoſed that the Auſtrian Netherlands (which ought to be a barrier to Holland, and the tie of an alliance, to protect her againſt any ſpecies of rule that might be erected, or even be reſtored in France) ſhould be formed into a republic under her influence and dependent upon her power.—*Letter to a noble Lord.*

KHAN, (FYZOOLAH.)

FYZOOLAH KHAN, though a bad ſoldier, (that is the true ſource of his misfortune) has approved himſelf a good aumil; having, it is ſuppoſed, in the courſe of a few years, at leaſt *doubled* the population, and revenue of his country.—In another part of the

correſpondence he is charged with making his country an aſylum for the oppreſſed peaſants, who fly from the territories of Oude. The improvement of his revenue, ariſing from this ſingle crime, (which Mr. Haſtings conſiders as tantamount to treaſon) is ſtated at an hundred and fifty thouſand pounds a year.

Dr. Swift ſomewhere ſays, that he who could make two blades of graſs grow where but one grew before, was a greater benefactor to the human race than all the politicians that ever exiſted. This prince, who would have been deified by antiquity, who would have been ranked with Oſiris, and Bacchus, and Ceres, and the divinities moſt propitious to men, was, for thoſe very merits, by name attacked by the company's government, as a cheat, a robber, a traitor. In the ſame breath in which he was accuſed as a rebel, he was ordered at once to furniſh 5,000 horſe. On delay, or (according to the technical phraſe, when any remonſtrance is made to them) "*on evaſion*," he was declared a violator of treaties, and every thing he had was to be taken from him.—Not one word, however, of horſe in this treaty.——*Speech on Mr. Fox's India Bill.*

LANGRISHE (SIR HERCULES) M. P.

You hated the old ſyſtem (popery laws in Ireland) as early as I did. Your firſt juvenile lance was broken againſt that giant. I think you were even the firſt who attacked the grim phantom. You have an exceeding good underſtanding, very good humour, and the beſt heart in the world. The dictates of that temper and that heart, as well as the policy pointed out by that underſtanding, led you to abhor the old code. You abhorred it, as I did, for its vicious perfection. For I muſt do it juſtice: it was a complete ſyſtem, full of coherence and conſiſtency; well digeſted and well compoſed in all its parts. It was a machine of wiſe and elaborate contrivance; and as

well fitted for the oppreſſion, impoveriſhment, and degradation of a people, and the debaſement, in them, of human nature itſelf, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man. It is a thing humiliating enough, that we are doubtful of the effect of the medicines we compound. We are ſure of our poiſons. My opinion ever was (in which I heartily agreed with thoſe that admired the old code) that it was ſo conſtructed, that if there was once a breach in any eſſential part of it; the ruin of the whole, or nearly of the whole, was, at ſome time or other, a certainty. For that reaſon I honour, and ſhall for ever honour and love you, and thoſe who firſt cauſed it to ſtagger, crack, and gape.—Others may finiſh; the beginners have the glory; and, take what part you pleaſe at this hour (I think you will take the beſt) your firſt ſervices will never be forgotten by a grateful country.——*Letter to Sir H. Langriſhe, M. P.*

LOUIS XVI.

THIS unfortunate king (not without a large ſhare of blame to himſelf) was deluded to his ruin by a deſire to humble and reduce his nobility, clergy, and his corporate magiſtracy; not that I ſuppoſe he meant wholly to eradicate theſe bodies, in the manner ſince effected by the democratic power: I rather believe that even Necker's deſigns did not go to that extent. With his own hand, however, Louis the XVIth pulled down the pillars which upheld his throne; and this he did, becauſe he could not bear the inconveniences which are attached to every thing human; becauſe he found himſelf cooped up, and in durance by thoſe limits which nature preſcribes to deſire and imagination; and was taught to conſider as low and degrading, that mutual dependance which Providence has ordained that all men ſhould have on one another. He is not at this minute, perhaps, cured of the dread of the power and credit like to

be acquired by thoſe who would ſave and reſcue him. He leaves thoſe who ſuffer in his cauſe to their fate; and hopes, by various mean deluſive intrigues, in which I am afraid he is encouraged from abroad, to regain, among traitors and regicides, the power he has joined to take from his own family, whom he quietly ſees proſcribed before his eyes, and called to anſwer to the loweſt of his rebels, as the vileſt of all criminals.——*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

LOUIS XVI.

THE only offence of this unhappy monarch towards his people, was his attempt, under a monarchy, to give them a free conſtitution. For this, by an example hitherto unheard of in the world, he has been depoſed. It might well diſgrace ſovereigns to take part with a depoſed tyrant. It would ſuppoſe in them a vicious ſympathy. But not to make a common cauſe with a juſt prince, dethroned by traitors and rebels, who proſcribe, plunder, confiſcate, and in every way cruelly oppreſs their fellow citizens, in my opinion is to forget what is due to the honour, and to the rights of all virtuous and legal government.—*Letter to a Member of the National Aſſembly.*

LOUIS XVI.

A MISFORTUNE it has indeed turned out to him, that he was born king of France. But misfortune is not crime, nor is indiſcretion always the greateſt guilt. I ſhall never think that a prince, the acts of whoſe whole reign were a ſeries of conceſſions to his ſubjects, who was willing to relax his authority, to remit his prerogatives, to call his people to a ſhare of freedom, not known, perhaps not deſired by their anceſtors; ſuch a prince, though he ſhould be ſubject to the common frailties attached to men and to

princes, though he ſhould have once thought neceſſary to provide force againſt the deſperate deſigns manifeſtly carrying on againſt his perſon, and the remnants of his authority; though all this ſhould be taken into conſideration, I ſhall be led with great difficulty to think he deſerves the cruel and inſulting triumph of Paris, and of Dr. Price. I tremble for the cauſe of liberty, from ſuch an example to kings. I tremble for the cauſe of humanity, in the unpuniſhed outrages of the moſt wicked of mankind. But there are ſome people of that low and degenerate faſhion of mind, that they look up with a ſort of complacent awe and admiration to kings, who know to keep firm in their ſeat, to hold a ſtrict hand over their ſubjects, to aſſert their prerogative, and by the awakened vigilance of a ſevere deſpotiſm, to guard againſt the very firſt approaches of freedom. Againſt ſuch as theſe they never elevate their voice. Deſerters from principle, liſted with fortune, they never ſee any good in ſuffering virtue, nor any crime in proſperous uſurpation.

If it could have been made clear to me, that the king and queen of France (thoſe I mean who were ſuch before the triumph) were inexorable and cruel tyrants, that they had formed a deliberate ſcheme for maſſacring the National Aſſembly (I think I have ſeen ſomething like the latter inſinuated in certain publications) I ſhould think their captivity juſt. If this be true, much more ought to have been done, but done, in my opinion, in another manner.—— *Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

LOUIS XVI.

LOUIS the XVIth was a diligent reader of hiſtory. But the very lamp of prudence blinded him. The guide of human life led him aſtray. A ſilent revolution in the moral world preceded the political, and prepared it. It became of more importance than

ever what examples were given, and what meaſures were adopted. Their cauſes no longer lurked in the receſſes of cabinets, or in the private conſpiracies of the factious. They were no longer to be controlled by the force and influence of the grandees, who formerly had been able to ſtir up troubles by their diſcontents, and to quiet them by their corruption. The chain of ſubordination, even in cabal and ſedition, was broken in its moſt important links. It was no longer the great and the populace. Other intereſts were formed, other dependencies, other connexions, other communications. The middle claſs had ſwelled far beyond its former proportions. Like whatever is the moſt effectively rich and great in ſociety, that became the ſeat of all the active politics; and the preponderating weight to decide on them. There were all the energies by which fortune is acquired; there the conſequence of their ſucceſs. There were all the talents which aſſert their pretenſions, and are impatient of the place which ſettled ſociety preſcribes to them. Theſe deſcriptions had got between the great and the populace; and the influence on the lower claſſes was with them. The ſpirit of ambition had taken poſſeſſion of this claſs as violently as ever it had done of any other. They felt the importance of this ſituation. The correſpondence of the monied and the mercantile world, the literary intercourſe of academies; but, above all, the preſs, of which they had in a manner, entire poſſeſſion, made a kind of electric communication every where. The preſs, in reality, has made every government, in its ſpirit, democratic. Without it the great, the firſt movements could not, perhaps, have been given. But the ſpirit of ambition, now for the firſt time connected with the ſpirit of ſpeculation, was not to be reſtrained at will. There was no longer any means of arreſting a principle in its courſe. When Louis the XVIth, under the influence of the enemies to monarchy, meant to found

but one republic, he ſet up two. When he meant to take away half the crown of his neighbour, he loſt the whole of his own. Louis the XVIth could not countenance a new republic: yet between that dangerous lodgment for an enemy, which he had erected, and his throne, he had the whole Atlantic for a ditch. He had for an outwork the Engliſh nation itſelf, friendly to liberty, adverſe to that mode of it. He was ſurrounded by a rampart of monarchies, moſt of them allied to him, and generally under his influence. Yet even thus ſecured, a republic erected under his auſpices, and dependent on his power, became fatal to his throne. The very money which he had lent to ſupport this republic, by a good faith, which to him operated as perfidy, was punctually paid to his enemies, and became a reſource in the hands of his aſſaſſins.——*Regicide Peace.*

LOUIS XVIII.

As to the prince who has a juſt claim to exerciſe the regency of France, like other men, he is not without his faults and his defects. But faults or defects (always ſuppoſing them faults of common human infirmity) are not what in any country deſtroy a legal title to government. After being well informed, as any man here can be, I do not find, that theſe blemiſhes in this eminent perſon, are at all conſiderable, or that they at all affect a character, which is full of probity, honour, generoſity, and real goodneſs. In ſome points he has but too much reſemblance to his unfortunate brother; who with all his weakneſſes, had a good underſtanding, and many parts of an excellent man, and a good King. But Monſieur, without ſuppoſing the other deficient (as he was not) excels him in general knowledge, and in a ſharp and keen obſervation, with ſomething of a better addreſs, and an happier mode of ſpeaking and of writing. His converſation is open, agreeable and

informed, his manners gracious and princely.—— *Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1793.

MONK (GENERAL.)

You aſk me what I think of the conduct of General Monk. How this affects your caſe, I cannot tell. I doubt whether you poſſeſs, in France, any perſons of a capacity to ſerve the French monarchy in the ſame manner in which Monk ſerved the monarchy of England. The army which Monk commanded had been formed by Cromwell to a perfection of diſcipline which perhaps has never been exceeded. That army was beſides of an excellent compoſition. The ſoldiers were men of extraordinary piety after their mode, of the greateſt regularity, and even ſeverity of manners; brave in the field, but modeſt, quiet, and orderly, in their quarters; men who abhorred the idea of aſſaſſinating their officers or any other perſons; and who (they at leaſt who ſerved in this iſland) were firmly attached to thoſe generals, by whom they were well treated and ably commanded. Such an army, once gained, might be depended on. I doubt much, if you could now find a Monk, whether a Monk could find in France, ſuch an army.

I certainly agree with you, that in all probability we owe our whole conſtitution to the reſtoration of the Engliſh monarchy. The ſtate of things from which Monk relieved England, was however by no means, at that time, ſo deplorable in any ſenſe, as yours is now, and under the preſent ſway is likely to continue. Cromwell had delivered England from anarchy. His government, though military and deſpotic, had been regular and orderly. Under the iron, and under the yoke, the ſoil yielded its produce. After his death, the evils of anarchy were rather dreaded than felt. Every man was yet ſafe in his houſe and in his property. But it muſt be admitted,

that Monk freed this nation from great and juſt apprehenſions both of future anarchy and of probable tyranny in ſome form or other.——*Letter to a Member of the National Aſſembly.*

MONTESQUIEU.

PLACE, for inſtance, before your eyes, ſuch a man as Monteſquieu. Think of a genius not born in every country, or every time; a man gifted by nature with a penetrating aquiline eye; with a judgment prepared with the moſt extenſive erudition; with an Herculean robuſtneſs of mind, and nerves not to be broken with labour; a man who could ſpend twenty years in one purſuit. Think of a man, like the univerſal patriarch in Milton (who had drawn up before him in his prophetic viſion the whole ſeries of the generations which were to iſſue from his loins) a man capable of placing in review, after having brought together, from the eaſt, the weſt, the north, and the ſouth, from the coarſeneſs of the rudeſt barbariſm to the moſt refined and ſubtle civilization, all the ſchemes of government which had ever prevailed amongſt mankind, weighing, meaſuring, collating, and comparing them all, joining fact with theory, and calling into council, upon all this infinite aſſemblage of things, all the ſpeculations which have fatigued the underſtandings of profound reaſoners in all times!—Let us then conſider, that all theſe were but ſo many preparatory ſteps to qualify a man, and ſuch a man, tinctured with no national prejudice, with no domeſtic affection, to admire, and to hold out to the admiration of mankind the conſtitution of England! And ſhall we Engliſhmen revoke to ſuch a ſuit? Shall we, when ſo much more than he has produced, remains ſtill to be underſtood and admired, inſtead of keeping ourſelves in the ſchools of real ſcience, chooſe for our teachers men incapable of being taught, whoſe only claim to know

is, that they have never doubted; from whom we can learn nothing but their own indocility; who would teach us to ſcorn what in the ſilence of our hearts we ought to adore.——*Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.*

NORTH (LORD.)

I DO not mean to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of Lord North. He was a man of admirable parts; of general knowledge; of a verſatile underſtanding fitted for every ſort of buſineſs; of infinite wit and pleaſantry; of a delightful temper; and with a mind moſt perfectly diſintereſted. But it would be only to degrade myſelf by a weak adulation, and not to honour the memory of a great man, to deny that he wanted ſomething of the vigilance, and ſpirit of command, that the time required. Indeed, a darkneſs, next to the fog of this awful day, loured over the whole region. For a little time the helm appeared abandoned——

Ipſe diem noctemque negat diſcernere cælo
Nec meminiſſe viæ mediâ Palinurus in undâ.

Letter to a Noble Lord.

PITT, (RIGHT HON. WILLIAM.)

WE hear, as a reaſon for clinging to Mr. Fox at preſent, that nine years ago Mr. Pitt got into power by miſchievous intrigues with the court, with the diſſenters, and with other factious people out of parliament, to the diſcredit and weakening of the power of the Houſe of Commons. His conduct nine years ago I ſtill hold to be very culpable. There are, however, many things very culpable that I do not know how to puniſh. My opinion, on ſuch matters, I muſt ſubmit to the good of the ſtate, as I have done on other occaſions; and particularly with regard to the authors and managers of the American

war, with whom I have acted, both in office and in oppoſition, with great confidence and cordiality, though I thought many of their acts criminal and impeachable. Whilſt the miſconduct of Mr. Pitt and his aſſociates was yet recent, it was not poſſible to get Mr. Fox of himſelf to take a ſingle ſtep, or even to countenance others in taking any ſtep upon the ground of that miſconduct and falſe policy, though if the matters had been then taken up and purſued, ſuch a ſtep could not have appeared ſo evidently deſperate as now it is.—So far from purſuing Mr. Pitt, I know that then, and for ſome time after, ſome of Mr. Fox's friends were actually, and with no ſmall earneſtneſs, looking out to a coalition with that gentleman. For years I never heard this circumſtance of Mr. Pitt's miſconduct on that occaſion mentioned by Mr. Fox, either in public or in private, as a ground for oppoſition to that miniſter. All oppoſition, from that period to this very ſeſſion, has proceeded upon the ſeparate meaſures as they ſeparately aroſe, without any vindictive retroſpect to Mr. Pitt's conduct in 1784. My memory, however, may fail me. I muſt appeal to the printed debates, which, (ſo far as Mr. Fox is concerned) are unuſually accurate.

Whatever might have been in our power, at an early period, at this day I ſee no remedy for what was done in 1784. I had no great hopes even at the time, I was therefore very eager to record a remonſtrance on the journals of the Houſe of Commons, as a caution againſt ſuch a popular deluſion in times to come; and this I then feared, and now am certain, is all that could be done. I know of no way of animadverting on the crown. I know no mode of calling to account the Houſe of Lords, who threw out the India Bill, in a way not much to their credit. As little, or rather leſs, am I able to coerce the people at large, who behaved very unwiſely and intemperately on that occaſion. Mr. Pitt was then

accuſed, by me as well as others, of attempting to be miniſter, without enjoying the confidence of the Houſe of Commons, though he did enjoy the confidence of the crown. That Houſe of Commons, whoſe confidence he did not enjoy, unfortunately did not itſelf enjoy the confidence, (though we well deſerved it) either of the crown or of the public. For want of that confidence, the then Houſe of Commons did not ſurvive the conteſt. Since that period Mr. Pitt has enjoyed the confidence of the Crown, and of the Lords, and *of the Houſe of Commons*, through two ſucceſſive parliaments; and I ſuſpect that he has ever ſince, and that he does ſtill, enjoy as large a portion, at leaſt, of the confidence of the people without doors, as his great rival.—— *Letter to the Duke of Portland.*

ROCKINGHAM (MARQUIS OF.)

THE noble Marquis of Rockingham and his worthy colleagues, whilſt they trembled at the proſpect of ſuch diſtreſſes as you have ſince brought upon yourſelves, were not afraid ſteadily to look in the face that glaring and dazzling influence at which the eyes of eagles have blenched. He looked in the face one of the ableſt, and, let me ſay, not the moſt ſcrupulous oppoſitions, that perhaps ever was in this houſe, and withſtood it, unaided by, even one of, the uſual ſupports of adminiſtration. He did this when he repealed the ſtamp-act. He looked in the face a perſon he had long reſpected and regarded, and whoſe aid was then particularly wanting; I mean Lord Chatham. He did this when he paſſed the declaratory act.

It is now given out, for the uſual purpoſes, by the uſual emiſſaries, that Lord Rockingham did not conſent to the repeal of this act until he was bullied into it by Lord Chatham; and the reporters have gone ſo far as publicly to aſſert, in an hundred companies,

that the Honourable Gentleman under the gallery*, who propoſed the repeal in the American committee, had another ſet of reſolutions in his pocket directly the reverſe of thoſe he moved. Theſe artifices of a deſperate cauſe are, at this time, ſpread abroad, with incredible care, in every part of the town, from the higheſt to the loweſt companies; as if the induſtry of the circulation were to make amends for the abſurdity of the report.

Sir, whether the noble lord is of a complexion to be bullied by Lord Chatham, or by any man, I muſt ſubmit to thoſe who know him. I confeſs, when I look back to that time, I conſider him as placed in one of the moſt trying ſituations in which, perhaps, any man ever ſtood. In the Houſe of Peers there were very few of the miniſtry, out of the noble lord's own particular connexion (except Lord Egmont, who acted, as far as I could diſcern, an honourable and manly part) that did not look to ſome other future arrangement, which warped his politics. There were in both houſes new and menacing appearances, that might very naturally drive any other, than a moſt reſolute miniſter, from his meaſure, or from his ſtation. The houſehold troops openly revolted. The allies of miniſtry (thoſe, I mean, who ſupported ſome of their meaſures, but refuſed reſponſibility for any) endeavoured to undermine their credit, and to take ground that muſt be fatal to the ſucceſs of the very cauſe which they would be thought to countenance. The queſtion of the repeal was brought on by miniſtry in the committee of this Houſe, in the very inſtant when it was known that more than one court negociation was carrying on with the heads of the oppoſition. Every thing, upon every ſide, was full of traps and mines. Earth below ſhook; heaven above menaced; all the elements of miniſterial ſafety were diſſolved. It was in the mindſt of this chaos of

* General Conway.

plots and counter-plots; it was in the midſt of this complicated warfare againſt public oppoſition and private treachery, that the firmneſs of that noble perſon was put to the proof. He never ſtirred from his ground; no, not an inch. He remained fixed and determined, in principle, in meaſure, and in conduct. He practiſed no managements. He ſecured no retreat. He ſought no apology.—*Speech on American Taxation.*

ROUSSEAU.

We have had the great profeſſor and founder of *the phyloſophy of vanity* in England. As I had good opportunities of knowing his proceedings almoſt from day to day, he left no doubt in my mind, that he entertained no principle either to influence his heart, or to guide his underſtanding, but *vanity.* With this vice he was poſſeſſed to a degree little ſhort of madneſs. It is from the ſame deranged eccentric vanity, that this, the inſane *Socrates* of the National Aſſembly, was impelled to publiſh a mad confeſſion of his mad faults, and to attempt a new ſort of glory, from bringing hardily to light the obſcure and vulgar vices which we know may ſometimes be blended with eminent talents. He has not obſerved on the nature of vanity, who does not know that it is omnivorous; that it has no choice in its food; that it is fond to talk even of its own faults and vices, as what will excite ſurprize and draw attention, and what will paſs at worſt for openneſs and candour. It was this abuſe and perverſion, which vanity makes even of hypocriſy, which has driven Rouſſeau to record a life not ſo much as chequered, or ſpotted here and there, with virtues, or even diſtinguiſhed by a ſingle good action. It is ſuch a life he chooſes to offer to the attention of mankind. It is ſuch a life, that with a wild defiance, he flings in the face of his Creator, whom he acknowledges only to brave.

Your aſſembly, knowing how much more powerful example is found than precept, has choſen this man (by his own account without a ſingle virtue) for a model. To him they erect their firſt ſtatue. From him they commence their ſeries of honours and diſtinctions.

It is that new invented virtue which your maſters canonize, that led their moral hero conſtantly to exhauſt the ſtores of his powerful rhetoric in the expreſſion of univerſal benevolence; whilſt his heart was incapable of harbouring one ſpark of common parental affection. Benevolence to the whole ſpecies, and want of feeling for every individual with whom the profeſſors come in contact, form the character of the new philoſophy. Setting up for an unſocial independence, this their hero of vanity refuſes the juſt price of common labour, as well as the tribute which opulence owes to genius, and which, when paid, honours the giver and the receiver; and then he pleads his beggary as an excuſe for his crimes. He melts with tenderneſs for thoſe only who touch him by the remoteſt relation, and then, without one natural pang, caſts away, as a ſort of offal and excrement, the ſpawn of his diſguſtful amours, and ſends his children to the hoſpital of foundlings. The bear loves, licks, and forms her young; but bears are not philoſophers. Vanity, however, finds its account in reverſing the train of our natural feelings. Thouſands admire the ſentimental writer; the affectionate father is hardly known in his pariſh.

Under this philoſophic inſtructor in the *ethics of vanity*, they have attempted in France a regeneration of the moral conſtitution of man. Stateſmen, like your preſent rulers, exiſt by every thing which is ſpurious, fictitious, and falſe; by every thing which takes the man from his houſe, and ſets him on a ſtage, which makes him up an artificial creature, with painted theatric ſentiments, fit to be ſeen by the glare of candle-light, and formed to be contemplated

at a due diſtance. Vanity is too apt to prevail in all of us, and in all countries. To the improvement of Frenchmen it ſeems not abſolutely neceſſary that it ſhould be taught upon ſyſtem. But it is plain that the preſent rebellion was its legitimate offſpring, and it is piouſly fed by that rebellion, with a daily dole.

If the ſyſtem of inſtitution, recommended by the aſſembly, is falſe and theatric, it is becauſe their ſyſtem of government is of the ſame character. To that, and to that alone, it is ſtrictly conformable. To underſtand either, we muſt connect the morals with the politics of the legiſlators. Your practical philoſophers, ſyſtematic in every thing, have wiſely began at the ſource. As the relation between parents and children is the firſt among the elements of vulgar, natural morality, they erect ſtatues to a wild, ferocious, low-minded, hard-hearted father, of fine general feelings; a lover of his kind, but a hater of his kindred. Your maſters reject the duties of this vulgar relation, as contrary to liberty; as not founded in the ſocial compact; and not binding according to the rights of men; becauſe the relation is not, of courſe, the reſult of *free election;* never ſo on the ſide of the children, not always on the part of the parents.

The next relation which they regenerate by their ſtatues to Rouſſeau, is that which is next in ſanctity to that of a father. They differ from thoſe old-faſhioned thinkers, who conſidered pedagogues as ſober and venerable characters, and allied to the parental. The moraliſts of the dark times, *preceptorem ſancti voluere parentis eſſe loco.* In this age of light, they teach the people, that preceptors ought to be in the place of gallants. They ſyſtematically corrupt a very corruptible race, (for ſome time a growing nuiſance amongſt you) a ſet of pert, petulant, literators, to whom, inſtead of their proper, but ſevere, unoſtentatious duties, they aſſign the brilliant part of men of wit and pleaſure, of gay, young, military

ſparks, and danglers at toilets. They call on the riſing generation in France, to take a ſympathy in the adventures and fortunes, and they endeavour to engage their ſenſibility on the ſide of pedagogues, who betray the moſt awful family truſts, and vitiate their female pupils. They teach the people, that the debauchers of virgins, almoſt in the arms of their parents, may be ſafe inmates in their houſe, and even fit guardians of the honour of thoſe huſbands who ſucceed legally to the office which the young literators had pre-occupied, without aſking leave of law or conſcience.

Thus they diſpoſe of all the family relations of parents and children, huſbands and wives. Through this ſame inſtructor, by whom they corrupt the morals, they corrupt the taſte. Taſte and elegance, though they are reckoned only among the ſmaller and ſecondary morals, yet are of no mean importance in the regulation of life. A moral taſte is not of force to turn vice into virtue; but it recommends virtue with ſomething like the blandiſhments of pleaſure; and it infinitely abates the evils of vice. Rouſſeau, a writer of great force and vivacity, is totally deſtitute of taſte in any ſenſe of the word. Your maſters, who are his ſcholars, conceive that all refinement has an ariſtocratic character. The laſt age had exhauſted all its powers in giving a grace and nobleneſs to our natural appetites, and in raiſing them into higher claſs and order than ſeemed juſtly to belong to them. Through Rouſſeau, your maſters are reſolved to deſtroy theſe ariſtocratic prejudices. The paſſion called love, has ſo general and powerful an influence; it makes ſo much of the entertainment, and indeed ſo much the occupation of that part of life which decides the character for ever, that the mode and the principles on which it engages the ſympathy, and ſtrikes the imagination, become of the utmoſt importance to the morals and manners of every ſociety. Your rulers were well aware of this;

and in their ſyſtem of changing your manners to accommodate them to their politics, they found nothing ſo convenient as Rouſſeau. Through him they teach men to love after the faſhion of philoſophers; that is, they teach to men, to Frenchmen, a love without gallantry; a love without any thing of that fine flower of youthfulneſs and gentility, which places it, if not among the virtues, among the ornaments of life. Inſtead of this paſſion, naturally allied to grace and manners, they infuſe into their youth an unfaſhioned, indelicate, ſour, gloomy, ferocious medley of pedantry and lewdneſs; of metaphyſical ſpeculations, blended with the coarſeſt ſenſuality. Such is the general morality of the paſſions to be found in their famous philoſopher, in his famous work of philoſophic gallantry, the *Nouvelle Eloiſe.*

When the fence from the gallantry of preceptors is broken down, and your families are no longer protected by decent pride, and ſalutary domeſtic prejudice, there is but one ſtep to a frightful corruption. The rulers in the national aſſembly are in good hopes that the females of the firſt families in France may become an eaſy prey to dancing maſters, fidlers, pattern-drawers, friſeurs, and valets de chambre, and other active citizens of that deſcription, who having the entry into your houſes, and being half domeſticated by their ſituation, may be blended with you by regular and irregular relations. By a law, they have made theſe people your equals. By adopting the ſentiments of Rouſſeau, they have made them your rivals. In this manner, theſe great legiſlators complete their plan of levelling, and eſtabliſh their rights of men on a ſure foundation.

I am certain that the writings of Rouſſeau lead directly to this kind of ſhameful evil. I have often wondered how he comes to be ſo much more admired and followed on the continent than he is here. Perhaps a ſecret charm in the language may have its ſhare in this extraordinary difference.——*Letter to a Member of the National Aſſembly.*

ROUSSEAU.

MR. HUME told me, that he had from Rouſſeau himſelf the ſecret of his principles of compoſition. That acute, though eccentric, obſerver had perceived, that to ſtrike and intereſt the public, the marvellous muſt be produced; that the marvellous of the heathen mythology had long ſince loſt its effect; that giants, magicians, fairies, and heroes of romance which ſucceeded, had exhauſted the portion of credulity which belonged to their age; that now nothing was left to a writer but that ſpecies of the marvellous, which might ſtill be produced, and with as great an effect as ever, though in another way; that is, the marvellous in life, in manners, in characters, and in extraordinary ſituations, giving riſe to new and unlooked-for ſtrokes in politics and morals. I believe, that were Rouſſeau alive, and in one of his lucid intervals, he would be ſhocked at the practical phrenzy of his ſcholars, who in their paradoxes are ſervile imitators; and even in their incredulity diſcover an implicit faith.——*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

SAVILLE, (SIR GEORGE.)

WHEN an act of great and ſignal humanity was to be done, and done with all the weight and authority that belonged to it, the world could caſt its eyes upon none but him (Sir George.) I hope that few things, which have a tendency to bleſs or to adorn life, have wholly eſcaped my obſervation in my paſſage through it. I have ſought the acquaintance of that gentleman, and have ſeen him in all ſituations. He is a true genius; with an underſtanding vigorous, and acute, and refined, and diſtinguiſhing even to exceſs; and illuminated with a moſt undounbed, peculiar, and original caſt of imagination. With theſe he poſſeſſes many external and inſtrumental advantages; and he

makes uſe of them all. His fortune is among the largeſt; a fortune which, wholly unincumbered, as it is, with one ſingle charge from luxury, vanity, or exceſs, ſinks under the benevolence of its diſpenſer. This private benevolence, expanding itſelf into patriotiſm, renders his whole being the eſtate of the public, in which he has not reſerved a *peculium* for himſelf of profit, diverſion, or relaxation. During the ſeſſion, the firſt in, and the laſt out of the houſe of commons; he paſſes from the ſenate to the camp; and, ſeldom ſeeing the ſeat of his anceſtors, he is always in parliament to ſerve his country, or in the field to defend it. But in all well-wrought compoſitions, ſome particulars ſtand out more eminently than the reſt; and the things which will carry his name to poſterity, are his two bills; I mean that for a limitation of the claims of the crown upon landed eſtates; and this for the relief of the Roman Catholics. By the former, he has emancipated property; by the latter, he has quieted conſcience; and by both, he has taught that grand leſſon to government and ſubject,—no longer to regard each other as adverſe parties.——*Speech at Briſtol previous to the Election.*

SAXONY (ELECTOR OF.)

THE preſent Elector is a Prince of a ſafe and quiet temper, of great prudence and goodneſs. He knows that in the actual ſtate of things, not the power and reſpect belonging to Sovereigns, but their very exiſtence depends on a reaſonable frugality. It is very certain that not one Sovereign in Europe can either promiſe for the continuance of his authority in a ſtate of indigence and inſolvency, or dares to venture on a new impoſition to relieve himſelf. Without abandoning wholly the ancient magnificence of his Court, the Elector has conducted his affairs with infinitely more œconomy than any of his predeceſſors, ſo as to reſtore his finances beyond what was thought poſ-

ſible from the ſtate in which the ſeven years war had left Saxony. Saxony during the whole of that dreadful period having been in the hands of an exaſperated enemy, rigorous by reſentment, by nature, and by neceſſity, was obliged to bear, in a manner, the whole burthen of the war; in the intervals, when their allies prevailed, the inhabitants of that country were not better treated.

The moderation and prudence of the preſent Elector, in my opinion, rather perhaps reſpites the troubles than ſecures the peace of the Electorate. The offer of the ſucceſſion to the Crown of Poland is truly critical, whether he accepts, or whether he declines it. If the States will conſent to his acceptance, it will add to the difficulties, already great, of his ſituation between the King of Pruſſia and the Emperor. But theſe thoughts lead me too far, when I mean to ſpeak only of the interior condition of theſe Princes. It has always, however, ſome neceſſary connexion with their foreign politics.—*Memorial on the Affairs of France in* 1791.

TACITUS AND MACHIAVEL.

It has been ſaid (and, with regard to one of them, with truth) that Tacitus and Machiavel, by their cold way of relating enormous crimes, have in ſome ſort appeared not to diſapprove them; that they ſeem a ſort of profeſſors of the art of tyranny, and that they corrupt the minds of their readers by not expreſſing the deteſtation and horror that naturally belong to horrible and deteſtable proceedings.——*Speech on Mr. Fox's India Bill.*

TOWNSHEND (CHARLES.)

There are many young members in the Houſe (ſuch of late has been the rapid ſucceſſion of public men) who never ſaw that prodigy Charles Town-

ſhend; nor of courſe know what a ferment he was able to excite in every thing by the violent ebullition of his mixed virtues and failings. For failings he had undoubtedly—many of us remember them; we are this day conſidering the effect of them. But he had no failings which were not owing to a noble cauſe; to an ardent, generous, perhaps an immoderate paſſion for fame; a paſſion which is the inſtinct of all great ſouls. He worſhipped that goddeſs whereſoever ſhe appeared; but he paid his particular devotions to her in her favorite habitation, in her choſen temple, the Houſe of Commons. Beſides the characters of the individuals that compoſe our body, it is impoſſible, Mr. Speaker, not to obſerve, that this Houſe has a collective character of its own. That character, too, however imperfect, is not unamiable. Like all great public collections of men, you poſſeſs a marked love of virtue, and an abhorrence of vice. But among vices, there is none, which the Houſe abhors in the ſame degree with *obſtinacy*. Obſtinacy, Sir, is certainly a great vice; and in the changeful ſtate of political affairs it is frequently the cauſe of great miſchief. It happens, however, very unfortunately, that almoſt the whole line of the great and maſculine virtues, conſtancy, gravity, magnanimity, fortitude, fidelity, and firmneſs, are cloſely allied to this diſagreeable quality, of which you have ſo juſt an abhorrence; and in their exceſs, all theſe virtues very eaſily fall into it. He, who paid ſuch a punctilious attention to all your feelings, certainly took care not to ſhock them by that vice which is the moſt diſguſtful to you.

That fear of diſpleaſing thoſe who ought moſt to be pleaſed, betrayed him ſometimes into the other extreme. He had voted, and in the year 1765, had been an advocate for the ſtamp-act. Things and the diſpoſition of men's minds were changed. In ſhort, the ſtamp-act began to be no favorite in this Houſe. He therefore attended at the private meet-

ing, in which the reſolutions moved by a Right Honourable Gentleman was ſettled; reſolutions leading to the repeal. The next day he voted for that repeal; and he would have ſpoken for it too, if an illneſs (not as was then given out a political) but to my knowledge, a very real illneſs, had not prevented it.

The very next ſeſſion, as the faſhion of this world paſſeth away, the repeal began to be in as bad an odour in this Houſe as the ſtamp-act had been in the ſeſſion before. To conform to the temper which began to prevail, and to prevail moſtly amongſt thoſe moſt in power, he declared, very early in the winter, that a revenue muſt be had out of America. Inſtantly he was tied down to his engagements by ſome, who had no objection to ſuch experiments, when made at the coſt of perſons for whom they had no particular regard. The whole body of courtiers drove him onward. They always talked as if the king ſtood in a ſort of humiliated ſtate, until ſomething of the kind ſhould be done.

Here this extraordinary man, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, found himſelf in great ſtraits. To pleaſe univerſally was the object of his life; but to tax and to pleaſe, no more than to love and to be wiſe, is not given to men. However he attempted it. To render the tax palatable to the partizans of American revenue, he made a preamble, ſtating the neceſſity of ſuch a revenue. To cloſe with the American diſtinction, this revenue was *external*, or port duty; but again, to ſoften it to the other party, it was a duty of *ſupply*. To gratify the *coloniſts*, it was laid on Britiſh manufactures; to ſatisfy the *merchants of Britain*, the duty was trivial, and (except that on tea, which touched only the devoted Eaſt India company) on none of the grand objects of commerce. To counterwork the American contraband, the duty on tea was reduced from a ſhilling to three-pence. But to ſecure the favour of thoſe

who would tax America, the ſcene of collection was changed, and, with the reſt, it was levied in the colonies. What need I ſay more? This fine-ſpun ſcheme had the uſual fate of all exquiſite policy. But the original plan of the [illegible]ies, and the mode of executing that plan, both aroſe, ſingly and ſolely, from a love of our applauſe. He was truly the child of the Houſe. He never thought, did, or ſaid any thing but with a view to you. He every day adapted himſelf to your diſpoſition; and adjuſted himſelf before it, as at a looking-glaſs.

He had obſerved (indeed it could not eſcape him) that ſeveral perſons, infinitely his inferiors in all reſpects, had formerly rendered themſelves conſiderable in this Houſe by one method alone. They were a race of men (I hope in God the ſpecies is extinct) who, when they roſe in their place, no man living could divine, from any known adherence to parties, to opinions, or to principles; from any order or ſyſtem in their politics; or from any ſequel or connexion in their ideas, what part they were going to take in any debate. It is aſtoniſhing how much this uncertainty, eſpecially at critical times, called the attention of all parties on ſuch men. All eyes were fixed on them, all ears open to hear them; each party gaped, and looked alternately for their vote, almoſt to the end of their ſpeeches. While the Houſe hung in this uncertainty, now the *hear-hims* roſe from this ſide—now they rebellowed from the other; and that party to whom they fell at length from their tremulous and dancing balance, always received them in a tempeſt of applauſe. The fortune of ſuch men was a temptation too great to be reſiſted by one, to whom, a ſingle whiff of incenſe withheld gave much greater pain, than he received delight, in the clouds of it, which daily roſe about him from the prodigal ſuperſtition of innumerable admirers. He was a candidate for contradictory honours; and his great aim was to make thoſe agree in admiration.

of him who never agreed in any thing elſe.—*Speech on American Taxation.*

WALPOLE, (MR.)

In ſtating that Walpole was driven by a popular clamour into a meaſure not to be juſtified, I do not mean wholly to excuſe his conduct. My time of obſervation did not exactly coincide with that event; but I read much of the controverſies then carried on. Several years after the conteſts of parties had ceaſed, the people were amuſed, and in a degree warmed with them. The events of that æra ſeemed then of magnitude, which the revolutions of our time have reduced to parochial importance; and the debates, which then ſhook the nation, now appear of no higher moment than a diſcuſſion in a veſtry. When I was very young, a general faſhion told me I was to admire ſome of the writings againſt that Miniſter; a little more maturity taught me as much to deſpiſe them. I obſerved one fault in his general proceeding. He never manfully put forward the entire ſtrength of his cauſe. He temporiſed; he managed; and adopting very nearly the ſentiments of his adverſaries; he oppoſed their inferences.—This, for a political commander, is the choice of a weak poſt. His adverſaries had the better of the argument, as he handled it, not as the reaſon and juſtice of his cauſe enabled him to manage it.——*Regicide Peace.*

WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

Attend, I pray you, to the ſituation and proſperity of Benfield, Haſtings, and others of that ſort. The laſt of theſe has been treated by the Company with an aſperity of reprehenſion that has no parallel. They lament, "that the power of diſpoſing of their "property for perpetuity, ſhould fall into ſuch

"hands." Yet for fourteen years, with little interruption, he has governed all their affairs, of every deſcription, with an abſolute ſway. He has had himſelf the means of heaping up immenſe wealth; and, during that whole period, the fortunes of hundreds have depended on his ſmiles and frowns. He himſelf tells you he is incumbered with two hundred and fifty young gentlemen, ſome of them of the beſt families in England, all of whom aim at returning with vaſt fortunes to Europe in the prime of life. He has then two hundred and fifty of your children as his hoſtages for your good behaviour; and loaded for years, as he has been, with the execrations of the natives, with the cenſures of the Court of Directors, and ſtruck and blaſted with reſolutions of this Houſe, he ſtill maintains the moſt deſpotic power ever known in India. He domineers with an overbearing ſway in the aſſemblies of his pretended maſters; and it is thought in a degree raſh to venture to name his offences in this Houſe, even as grounds of a legiſlative remedy.—*Speech on Mr. Fox's Eaſt-India Bill.*

WILKES, (JOHN) ESQ.

I WILL not believe, what no other man living believes, that Mr. Wilkes was puniſhed for the indecency of his publications, or the impiety of his ranſacked cloſet. If he had fallen in a common ſlaughter of libellers and blaſphemers, I could well believe that nothing more was meant than was pretended. But when I ſee that, for years together, full as impious, and perhaps more dangerous writings to religion, and virtue, and order, have not been puniſhed, nor their authors diſcountenanced; that the moſt audacious libels on royal majeſty have paſſed without notice; that the moſt treaſonable invectives againſt the laws, liberties, and conſtitution of the country, have not met with the ſlighteſt animadver-

ſion; I muſt conſider this as a ſhocking and ſhameleſs pretence. Never did an envenomed ſcurrility againſt every thing ſacred and civil, public and private, rage through the kingdom with ſuch a furious and unbridled licence. All this while the peace of the nation muſt be ſhaken, to ruin one libeller, and to tear from the populace a ſingle favourite.

Nor is it that vice merely ſkulks in an obſcure and contemptible impunity. Does not the public behold with indignation, perſons not only generally ſcandalous in their lives, but the identical perſons who, by their ſociety, their inſtruction, their example, their encouragement, have drawn this man into the very faults which have furniſhed the cabal with a pretence for his perſecution, loaded with every kind of favour, honour, and diſtinction, which a court can beſtow? Add but the crime of ſervility (the *fœdum crimen ſervitutis)* to every other crime, and the whole maſs is immediately tranſmuted into virtue, and becomes the juſt ſubject of reward and honour. When therefore I reflect upon this method purſued by the cabal in diſtributing rewards and puniſhments, I muſt conclude that Mr. Wilkes is the object of perſecution, not on account of what he has done in common with others who are the objects of reward, but for that in which he differs from many of them: that he is purſued for the ſpirited diſpoſitions which are blended with his vices; for his unconquerable firmneſs, for his reſolute, indefatigable, ſtrenuous reſiſtance againſt oppreſſion.—*Thoughts on the Cauſe of the preſent Diſcontents.*

THE END.

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